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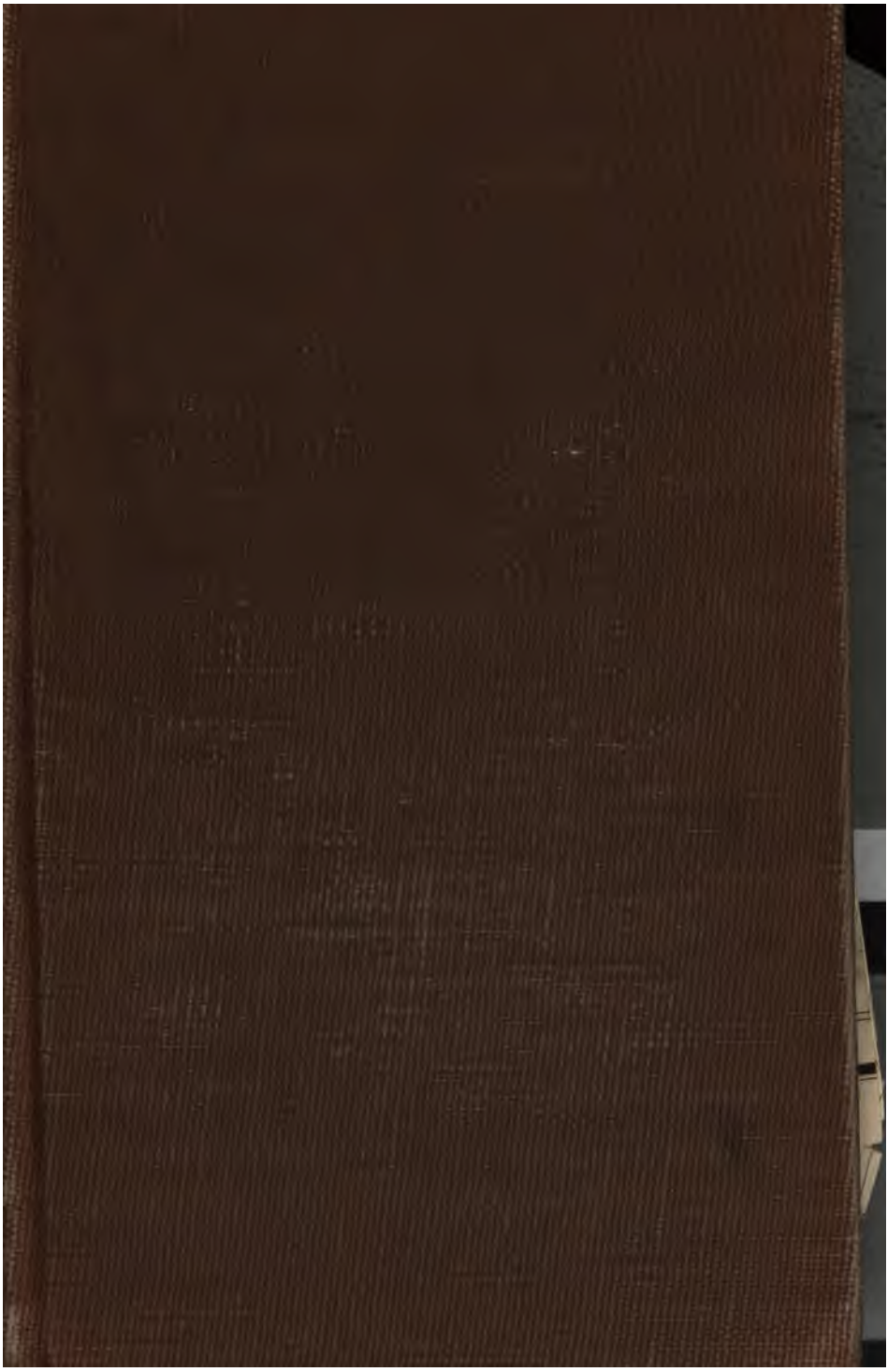

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THREE YEARS

IN

NORTH AMERICA.

BY

JAMES STUART, Esq.

"The true state of every nation is the state of common life."

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

If the following pages have any merit, it consists merely in their conveying, in plain language, a faithful and candid representation of the facts which the author observed and noted in the places where they presented themselves. He has not been accustomed to write for the press, and makes no pretensions to literary attainments. The observations which he made in America are now given to the public, solely from a conviction that they furnish a greater variety of minute details regarding the every-day habits, and the social condition of the people, in those parts of the United States which he visited, than can be found in any similar publication of recent

date. The statements and documents with which the reader is here presented will also tend, it is to be hoped, to expose the mistakes of some late writers, who seem to have visited these States under the influence of strong prejudices and preconceived opinions. Though the author travelled wholly free, as he thinks, from any such biases, and with an earnest desire to inform himself aright as to the matters to which he directed his attention, he cannot but be sensible that a stranger must occasionally fall into errors, when writing of a country of such vast extent, where the customs of the people, and many of the institutions, not only differ essentially from those with which he has previously been acquainted, but are in fact very different in the United States themselves.

The author farther hopes that his Notes will be found to contain such information, geographical and historical, as travellers generally wish to possess respecting a country which they may have occasion to visit, as well as hints, which may be of some value to emigrants from Europe to the

United States,—especially to the State of Illinois, and the other parts of the great valley of the Mississippi. Perhaps, too, these pages may not be without use in directing future travellers from Europe as to the route they should follow, in order to see the objects of greatest interest in the United States, or in enabling them to make those inquiries to which their peculiar pursuits have reference.

The form of a Journal, preserving dates, and occasionally referring to individuals, where that could be done without any breach of delicacy or propriety, is adhered to, as affording the best evidence of accuracy and authenticity, as well as possessing other advantages. Several of the most popular American writers on Great Britain have followed this course. It affords in many cases data, from which the public may form an opinion of the probable correctness of the statements laid before them, and the weight to be attached to them.

The author has made great use of Mr Darby's View of the United States, and of Mr Timothy

Flint's Geography and History of the Western States; both of them valuable works, and very necessary companions for travellers in the countries described. He has also availed himself freely of the information contained in such other works as he could confide in; particularly Count Marbois' very instructive History of Louisiana.

Owing to his distance from the press, and other circumstances, he fears that some blemishes of style may have been left uncorrected; but if he shall be thought to have succeeded in his main objects, he will not feel much disturbed by criticisms bearing only upon such defects.

LONDON, *December* 1832.

CONTENTS

OF

VOLUME FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

From 16th July to 23d August 1828.

Voyage from Liverpool to New York, and arrival at New York, Page 1

CHAPTER II.

From 23d to 28th August.

Bay, Harbour, and City of New York—Buildings—Customs—Manners, - - - - - 14

CHAPTER III.

August 1828.

Voyage in Steam-boat North America to Albany—River Hudson—Steam Navigation, - - - - - 34

CHAPTER IV.

29th August.

Albany—Erie Canal, - - - - 50

CHAPTER V.

From 30th August to 1st September.

Journey from Albany to Auburn—Canal-boat—Stage, - 64

CHAPTER VI.

2d September 1828.

State-Prison at Auburn—Details—Want of such a Prison in Britain, - - - - - - Page 86

CHAPTER VII.

From 2d September to 9th September.

Journey from Auburn by Cayuga and Seneca Lakes, Geneva, and Canandaigua, to Buffalo on Lake Erie, - - - 114

CHAPTER VIII.

From 9th to 17th September.

Journey from Buffalo to Falls of Niagara—Actions during the last war between the British and Americans near Niagara Falls—Canada—Lake Ontario, - - - - - 136

CHAPTER IX.

From 17th to 20th September.

Journey from Canada to Glen's Falls, near Saratoga Springs, in the State of New York—Lake Champlain—Lake George—High Sheriff of the County of Warren, - - - - 164

CHAPTER X.

From 20th September to 31st October.

Saratoga Springs—General Burgoyne's Campaign—Ballston Spa, 189

CHAPTER XI.

5th November 1828.

General Election for the State of New York—Details of general Government, and of Elections, - - - - 231

CHAPTER XII.

November 1829.

State of Agriculture in New York State—Mr Stimson's Farm, 254

CHAPTER XIII.

From 21st November 1828 *to March* 1829.

Journey from Ballston Spa to Albany, to the Village of the Shakers

to Northampton, and to Boston—Boston—Details—Scene of the Commencement of the American Revolution, - Page 282

CHAPTER XIV.

Winter 1829.

Schools—Free Schools—System of Education in Connecticut and New England—Number of persons educated contrasted with number in Britain and Ireland—Judicial Proceedings at Boston—Trials for Libel, - - - - 321

CHAPTER XV.

From 20th April to 2d May 1829.

Journey from Boston to New York by Providence, Hartford, and Newhaven, and Long Island Sound, - - 357

CHAPTER XVI.

May 1829.

Journey to Philadelphia—Miss Wright's Lectures—Naval Yard—Baltimore—Washington and Annapolis—Mount Vernon—Return to Vicinity of New York, - - - 370

CHAPTER XVII.

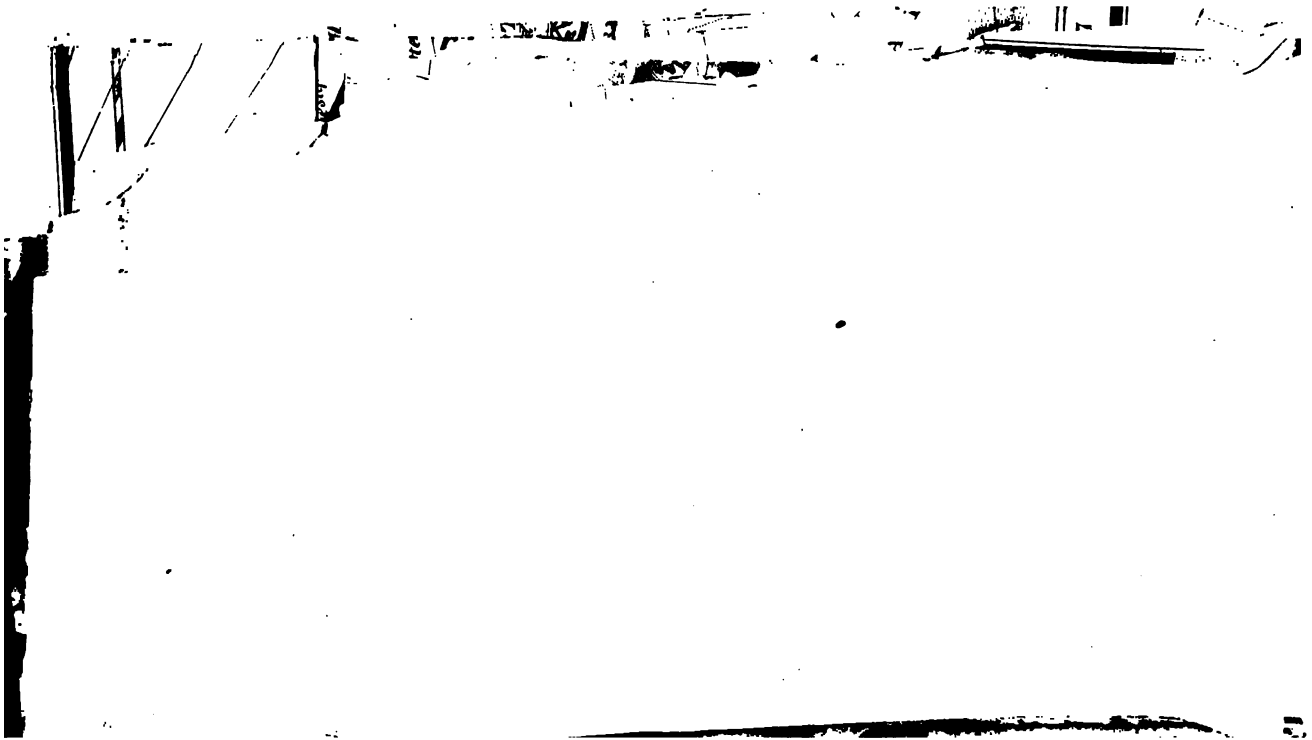
May, June, July, August, and September 1829.

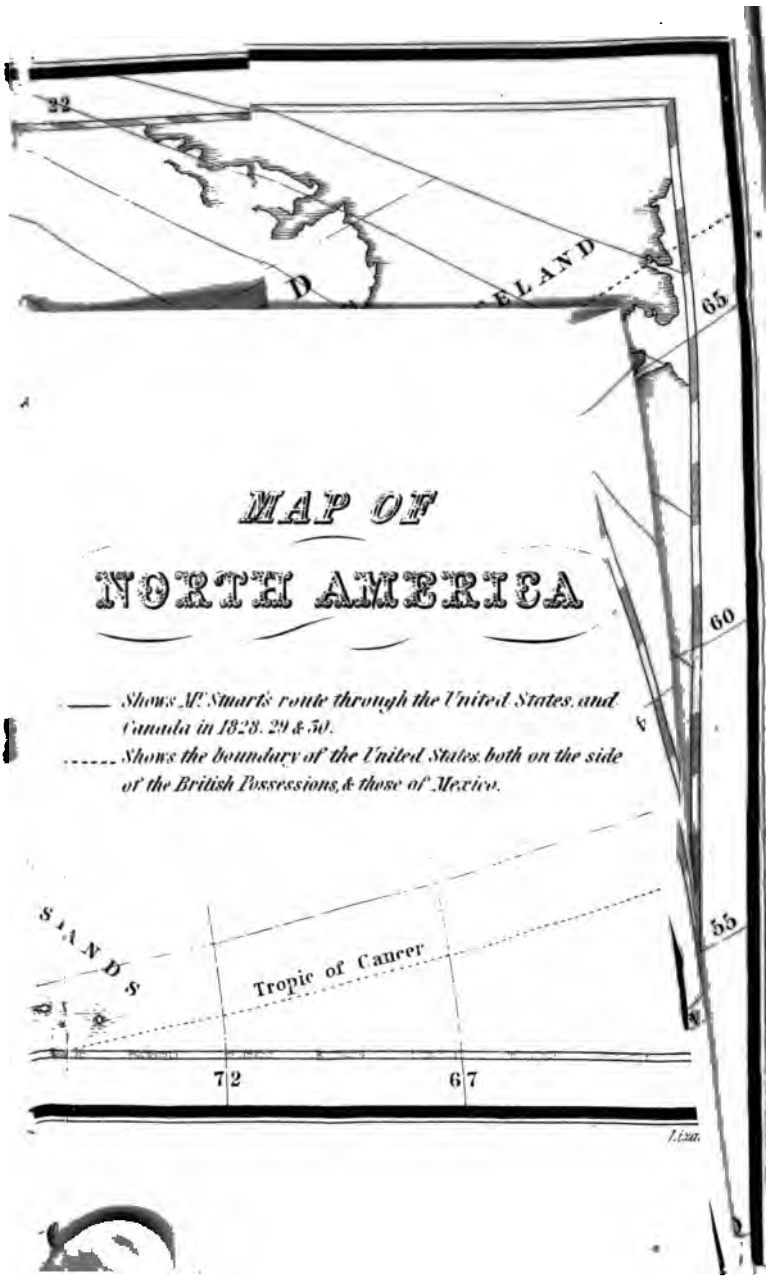
Excursions to neighbourhood of New York—Staten Island—Camp-Meeting in Long Island—Pine Orchard-House—West Point Academy and Fort Putnam, &c—Further Details of New York—New Rochelle, - - - - 400

CHAPTER XVIII.

September and October 1829.

Excursion by Land along the East Side of the Hudson River from New York to Troy, - - - - 455




22
D
ELAND
65
MAP OF
NORTH AMERICA
60
Shows Mr. Stuart's route through the United States and Canada in 1828. 29 & 30.
Shows the boundary of the United States both on the side of the British Possessions, & those of Mexico.
55
Tropic of Cancer
7 2
6 7

THREE YEARS

IN

NORTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

Voyage from Liverpool to New York—Days of sailing of Packets—Passage-Money—Passengers—Crew—Details—Gulf-stream—Arrival at New York—Pilot-Boat.

From 16th July to 23d August 1828.

I SHOULD pass over the five weeks' voyage from Liverpool to New York with very little notice, if I knew to what publication to direct those, who may be desirous, before undertaking the same voyage, to obtain the requisite information, respecting the sort of ship in which they must spend some time, the accommodation, the style of living, and similar details. I had looked in vain for explanation of this nature into some of the recent publications of travellers in America, but I was not even able to learn from them the days on which the regular packet ships from Liverpool to New York

sail. I found, on reaching Liverpool, on 15th July 1828, that, wind and weather serving, they depart regularly from Liverpool and from New York on the 1st, 8th, 16th, and 24th days of every month. The passage money from Liverpool to New York is thirty-five guineas, paid on agreeing for the passage, and includes every charge for provisions, wine, spirits, and liquor of all kinds. From New York to Liverpool the passage money is only thirty guineas; the voyage to Europe, owing to the greater prevalence of westerly winds, and the favourable influence of the stream from the Gulf of Mexico, being made in the packet ships, on an average of voyages, in twenty-five, while the voyage to the westward generally occupies forty days.

We secured our passage, soon after our arrival at Liverpool, in the packet William Thomson, Captain George Maxwell,—a well known ship,—Mathews, the comedian, having crossed the Atlantic in her, and celebrated her, and her captain and owners, on his stage. The packet ships are of the burden of from 400 to 500 tons, generally about 500 tons. I was surprised to be told at Liverpool, that the packet ships are all American built, and that British ships are generally a fourth more time at sea, in making this voyage, than Americans. The latter are sharper in the bows, and not so stout, and of course sail quicker than the former; but the former, be it observed, will stand a harder knock, in case of collision, or of getting ashore. The British attend more to the capacity of the vessel to carry a large cargo, to her tonnage, and to her stability, than to the

rate at which she is to sail. At least so I was told at Liverpool, and had the information confirmed on the passage.

We sailed in the forenoon of 16th July, towed out of the Mersey by a steam-boat, under the charge of a pilot, as far as the floating light at the mouth of the river. We were speedily summoned to luncheon, at which all the passengers appeared. There were fourteen of us, viz. in the ladies' cabin, a British officer on his way to Canada, his lady, and their female servant; an unmarried English lady, on her way to visit a brother settled in the interior of the United States; my wife, and myself; and in the large cabin, six gentlemen resident in the United States, two of them natives of England, one South American, and one Scotch gentleman, who accompanied us. There were only two steerage passengers.

The crew, exclusive of the captain, consisted of two mates, the first mate, from the island of Nantucket, off the coast of New England,—a hardy and excellent seaman, and a good specimen of Yankee independence,—sixteen men, and a boy, of various nations, English, Irish, American, Norwegian, Prussian, and French. The three stewards and two cooks were men of colour. Our total number was thus thirty-one.

There are sleeping places for thirty passengers in the cabins of the William Thomson, the length of the two cabins, which are thirty-one feet broad, being about sixty feet; but the state rooms, as the sleeping closets are called, are too narrow, which is generally the case in packet and merchant ships. I should have given the

same character to the beds, if I had not been told on board of our packet, that they are purposely contracted, to prevent accidents happening, by the inmates falling out of bed in a rolling sea. It is no less singular, than true, that, notwithstanding the obvious convenience of having regular packets across the Atlantic, no such establishment was set about for above 150 years after the discovery of America. The first packets sailed between Corunna and the Havannah in 1764, and as soon as the American revolution was accomplished, monthly packets were established between New York and Havre de Grace. Now there are regular packets between various ports in the United States, and Liverpool, London, Hull, Belfast, Havre, &c.

No Custom-house examination of baggage or effects took place on our leaving Liverpool.

The wind blew from the south when we got out of the Mersey. Captain Maxwell, therefore, at once decided on proceeding by the North of Ireland. The northern channel is in some places narrow. The first mate had never passed through it; and I found that the captain hardly quitted the deck, even during the night, till we were clear of it. Off Belfast, we hailed the ship Fabius, going into that port, after a voyage of only eighteen days from New York.

It was very fortunate that Captain Maxwell adopted the northern course, as we eventually had a far shorter passage than the ships which left Liverpool with us, and for some days previously, and which went by the South of Ireland. The wind for the first part of the voyage was favourable, and a fine breeze, so that we

sailed at the rate of from seven to nearly nine knots an hour for the two or three first days. The first quarter of the passage, the whole distance being computed at about 3400 miles, was passed in six, and the second in nine days. Calms and contrary winds, fogs, and changes of weather, which prevail in crossing the Newfoundland bank and Gulf-stream, detained us at sea for twenty-three days longer. We were caught in two or three squalls, none of them very severe, lost a royal topgallant-mast when it was blowing fresh, and we were carrying perhaps too much canvas; had our breakfast equipage tossed about one morning by a sea breaking into the cabin; and were for four or five days annoyed by the rolling of the vessel, occasioned by a contrary wind, and which laid her so much on one side as to give some alarm to the ladies; but I have witnessed far more unpleasant weather on a voyage between London and Leith, and been exposed to a more disagreeable swell during north-easterly gales, in the old fashioned Kinghorn ferry-boats of the Firth of Forth, than on this voyage across the great Atlantic. Many of the passengers had made the voyage again and again; some of them in the same ship; and they seemed all to agree in opinion, that, from April to October inclusive, it rarely happens that the weather is such as to cause much uneasiness to passengers in the packet ships, who are at all reasonable people, and not disposed to be frightened at their own shadows.

Captain Maxwell was most assiduous in his attentions to all, and made us feel quite at home from the

first day of the voyage, treating us exactly as his guests, who he wished to call for, and enjoy every good thing he had provided for us. He left it to the passengers to arrange the hours of our meals; and they decided, that we should have breakfast at half-past eight, luncheon at twelve, dinner at four, and tea at seven. The table was excellent,—quite as good, in all respects, as at well-managed hotels in London or Edinburgh. Liquors of all kinds, port, sherry, Madeira, and claret, with champagne three or four times a-week, and porter, cyder, soda water, brandy, whisky, &c. without any other charge than the passage money. There was a cow on board, which supplied us with many luxuries; and we had plenty of live stock to the very end of the voyage.

Captain Maxwell has provided a small library in the large cabin for the use of the passengers. Reading and walking on deck occupied our forenoons. We generally spent about two hours at dinner. And in the evening, after a walk on deek, there was a rubber at whist for those who liked it. Some amusement was afforded by our daily stock exchange. Meetings for buying and selling tickets in a lottery, the prize in which was destined to the holder of the ticket, marked with the day of the month, on which we should receive the pilot, who was to conduct us through the channel to New York. We had each of us early in the voyage subscribed a small sum, and drawn two of thirty-two tickets, marked with one of sixteen days and nights, on which our arrival on the American coast was considered

to be possible. The tickets were continually varying in value, as the weather led us to expect a longer or shorter passage. In the end of the voyage, a calm, or contrary wind, occasioned a depression in value of one ticket, and the corresponding elevation of another to as great an extent as in other times, and in other funds, —Lord Rodney's victory, or the battle of Waterloo.

No occurrence of extraordinary interest befel us during the voyage; but there were many new sights for those who had been little at sea previously.

We were, as I understand is usual, very generally followed for the sake of the garbage thrown from the ship, by many small birds, called, why I know not, Mother Carey's chickens. They are never observed to approach the shore, exchanging a homeward bound for an outward bound ship, on drawing near the land. It has never, I believe, been ascertained where they breed.

The Argonauta, or Nautilus, called by the sailors the Portuguese Man-of-war, was often seen by us in fine weather. It is a sea snail, which possesses the faculty of swimming or diving. Its appearance, in sunshine, being of a light violet colour, is very beautiful. As soon as a storm commences, it draws into its shell, taking in as much water as will carry it to the bottom; and on the approach of fine weather, reascends to the surface, putting up a small sail, and guiding its movements by its tail as a rudder.

We had very calm weather for a day or two, when passing the Newfoundland banks, and amused ourselves

in fishing. Some excellent cod were caught, and a greater supply obtained in exchange for salted pork, and other articles, from a Nova Scotia fishing smack, whose crew, with unshaven beards, were most barbarous-looking persons, ignorant of their longitude and latitude, and even of the day of the month and week.

Whales, porpoises, and sharks, were frequently in sight, and bore us company for a considerable way. The first mate, with great dexterity, harpooned one of the porpoises. The sharks were sometimes prevailed on to follow us by throwing a piece of meat occasionally overboard to them.

The winds were light and variable, and the weather sometimes foggy, at the period of our crossing the Gulf-stream, so that good opportunities occurred for observing its remarkable phenomena. Our approach to it was, as usual, foretold by weeds floating about the ship; and soon afterwards the current of this great oceanic river, as Darby very properly styles it, and the change of temperature of the water of the ocean, from cold to heat, became sufficiently apparent to all. The current issuing from the southern part of the coast of Florida runs at the rate of about five miles an hour, decreasing in velocity in its progress to the north as it extends in breadth, and proceeding at a distance of from twenty to thirty leagues from the American shore, till it meets the Arctic currents from Davis's Straits, when its course is diverted to the east and south-east. Its breadth, of forty or fifty miles on the North American

coast, increases to about 160 leagues at the Azores, from which it runs by the Straits of Gibraltar, Madeira, and the coast of Africa, to about the latitude of Cape Verd, at which, mixing with the tropical current, it is carried to the west, and impelled by the trade wind, which always blows from east within the tropics, into the Gulf of Mexico, through the Caribbean sea, and thence between Cuba and Yucatan. It then rushes into the Atlantic by the channel of Florida, and the Bahama islands, and thus completes its course. This prodigious whirlpool has a circumference of about 15,000 miles. It was unknown to Columbus, and for about a century after the discovery of America, when it was first of all observed by Sir Francis Drake. Strange, however, to tell, the warmth of its temperature, and its effect on the climate of the adjoining country, remained unnoticed, until about half a century ago. The excess of heat in the stream over the contiguous water, varies from about eight to twenty degrees, diminishing, of course, as the stream recedes from the gulf. We found the difference from eight to ten degrees on our voyage. The water becomes colder, as its depth lessens on the banks adjoining, so that the thermometer is in fact almost as necessary an instrument as the compass for the mariner, in crossing the stream and the banks. The stream itself is unfathomable; but the banks formed by the deposit alongside of it, require the navigator's constant care.

The light of the aurora borealis exhibited very curious and striking effects to us on the evening of the

14th of August. Land, water, islands, in all variety of form, became, as we thought, so distinctly visible, that we could hardly convince ourselves that our senses were imposed on, and that we were still in the midst of the ocean. The phosphorescence of the sea, when greatly agitated, was greater on the voyage than I had before observed it. It is hardly visible when the water is at rest. The singular appearance of ships in the air, when the weather is hazy, so that the horizon is not clearly distinguishable, often occurred. We had frequent opportunities to satisfy ourselves of the spherical shape of the earth, by noticing how invariably we lost sight of the hulls of the ships before their sails and top-masts disappeared, and got the first sight of the masts and sails of ships about to meet us. But not one of the sights that were new to us delighted us so much as the brilliancy of the sunsets and moonshines on the ocean at this fine season of the year. None of us, who have any relish for the beauties of nature, can ever forget them.

There was less sea-sickness among the passengers than I had expected. Four of them, one of whom had never been at sea before, were entirely free of it. One of the ladies, who was well informed, and agreeable, was unfortunately the only severe sufferer. We had calm weather, however, near the conclusion of the passage, when she regained her health and spirits, and became a great addition to our society. Most of us found our taste, both as to what we ate and drank, more capricious than usual; but a good appetite, espe-

cially at dinner, was pretty universal; and, unless for cathartics, very generally useful at sea, recourse was not had to the apothecary's shop during the voyage, except for one of the seamen, who had an aguish attack near the end of it.

The duty of the seamen was performed with as much alertness and quietness, as was possible, had we been on board of a man-of-war. There was not a high word, nor the slightest appearance of ill-humour in any quarter, nor did we ever hear an oath during the voyage. Many a chat we had relative to the prospects of the United States, and the situation of Great Britain and of Europe politically; but our discussions were never pursued too far, although we had enough of combustible matter of all sorts on board, republicans as well as zealous whigs, radicals, and even ultra tories, and one American young gentleman, hardly in his teens, who had every particular of the New Orleans battle, and of the American naval engagements, by heart. Yet, I believe, we all separated, pleased with each other, and in the hope that it might be our lot to meet again.

The morning of the 23d of August was rather unfavourable for our course; but a breeze from the eastward having sprung up in the forenoon, Captain Maxwell announced to us about eleven o'clock, that he expected that we should very soon see land. About half an hour afterwards, the hills of Neversink, on the Jersey coast, which rise 300 or 400 feet above the sea, the nearest high grounds to the fortified cape, called

Sandyhook, the point of entry to New York bay on the south, were descried. Nowhere is the triumph of science more remarkable than on such an occasion as this, when, after a voyage of 3000 or 4000 miles, out of sight of land for about a month, we regain the first glimpse of it at the very spot the nearest to our destined port.

Sir Humphrey Davy justly remarks, that the results of intellectual labour, or of scientific genius, are permanent, and incapable of being lost. Monarchs change their plans, governments their objects, a fleet or an army effect their purpose, and then pass away; but a piece of steel touched by the magnet preserves its character for ever, and secures to man the dominion of the trackless ocean. The dominion of the Britons in Asia may share the fate of that of Tamerlane; but the steamboat which ascends the Delaware, and the Mississippi, and St Lawrence, will continue to be used, and will carry the civilization of an improved people into the deserts of North America, and into the wilds of Canada.

The breeze increased, and all was bustle, the passengers busying themselves in selecting such parts of their baggage as they required to take ashore with them; the next day, the 24th, being Sunday, so that clearances for landing their effects could not be got at the Custom-house till Monday.

Before we passed the floating buoy without Sandyhook, a pilot boat came alongside, and our pilot ascended the ship's side. He immediately issued his orders

as commander of the ship. From him we learned that the Manchester packet ship, which left Liverpool on 1st July, had not yet reached New York. The William Byrne packet ship, which left Liverpool on 8th July, eight days before us, had been in our sight for two or three days, and was now a few leagues astern of us.

The pilot-boat was a schooner-rigged and decked vessel, neatly painted. Some of us could not help contrasting her appearance and that of the pilot, with what we had been accustomed to see in the Firth of Forth;—the contrast, we are obliged to admit, is not a little in favour of the western side of the Atlantic. The pilot is an intelligent well-dressed person; in short, a gentleman in appearance and manners, as we should say.

There could not be a more charming afternoon, nor a more cloudless sky, than when we passed Sandyhook, and got the first peep of the delightful scene within it.

CHAPTER II.

The Bay, Harbour, and City of New York—City Hotel—Climate—Facilities of intercourse with the interior—River Hudson—Erie Canal—Long Island Sound, &c.—Population and Trade of New York—Steam Navigation—Situation of New York on Manhattan Island—Broadway—City Hall—Frequent fires—The Battery—Merchants' Exchange—Post-Office—Churches—Theatres—Hackney Coaches—Manners—Dress—Custom-House—Accommodation at Hotel—Provisions—Breakfast—Supply of Water—Language—Newspapers—Advertising—Lotteries—Republican Customs.

From 23d August to 28th August.

SANDYHOOK is about eighteen miles from New York. We had hardly got within it, when a light-looking small boat, belonging to some of the newspaper offices, came along side, and exchanged some New York papers, just published, for the latest English papers in our possession.

I had heard much of the beauty of the approach to New York from the sea; but the reality altogether exceeded my expectation. It is undoubtedly one of the most magnificent scenes in the world. I know of no more happy disposition of land and water, nor such variety of marked and pleasing features anywhere on the shores or rivers of the British islands. Neither the Bay of

Dublin, nor the Isle of Wight, nor the Firths of Forth or Clyde, present the works of nature on a grander scale, or in more varied and interesting aspects. That boldness of character which lofty hills and mountains produce is alone awanting. The hills which bound the prospect in three or four directions are nowhere above four or five hundred feet in height.

Within Sandyhook, the channel passes through the outer harbour of New York, called Rariton Bay, from one of the great rivers, which discharges itself into it. The bay is skirted by Long Island, and by the shores of New Jersey and Staten Island. About five miles from New York, Long Island and Staten Island approach each other within less than a mile, forming a strait called the Narrows, from the northern part of which the sea view is splendid,—commanding the harbour, or inner bay of New York, above twenty miles in circumference, with its islands and indented shores; and above all, in the centre of the bay, the Island of Manhattan, on the nearest, the southern part of which is placed the city of New York, surrounded by its shipping. Half a dozen of rivers, which in other countries we should call arms of the sea, viz. the Hudson, navigable for above 180 miles, the Rariton, Long Island Sound, the Passaic, the Hackensack, pour their waters into those bays, the shores of which, and of the islands, are covered with ornamented villas and with orchards. The sun was setting as we darted through the inner bay, decorated with the lightest and most graceful description of sailing boats we had ever seen; it had just

set when our voyage was completed. The feelings of all the passengers, even of those to whom it was not new, were highly excited by such an exhibition of the beauties of nature, in such an evening, and at the most favourable moment for enjoying it. Words cannot express the delight with which a picture like this is seen by those who understand it. "Who can paint like Nature?"

Much of the city itself is not visible from the water, —the island on which it is built consisting of undulating, but not in any part of it of elevated, ground. Still the spires of the churches make a brilliant appearance; gilded by the setting sun, and towering among the trees which shade the streets, and amongst the masts of the ships, surrounding the city on all sides, but the north. The situation of the city projected into the bay, on the southern part of the island, is a very remarkable one. The island, which is twelve or thirteen miles long, by one and a-half broad, has all the appearance of a narrow promontory, open to the sea on all sides but the north, on which it is separated from the adjoining country by the Haerlem river, over which there are long wooden bridges.

As soon as we reached the wharf on the east side of the city, several gentlemen from the Custom-house stepped on board to seal up the doors of the cabins, until the baggage be examined, and to see that the necessary articles to be taken on shore immediately, contain nothing for which any duty is chargeable.

Hackney coaches, here called hacks, were in waiting,

and conveyed us, *i. e.* the party in the ladies' cabin, who had agreed to remain together for a few days, and our friend who accompanied us, to the city hotel, situated in Broadway, the principal street of New York. There are two entrances to this great hotel; the one for the American, and the other for the European side of the house. We are accommodated in the latter, which we find well attended to by an English waiter, formerly at Brookes's Club-House, London.

We had hardly got out of the ship, when we were sensible of a prodigious change of temperature. In the ship, the thermometer had seldom been higher than 70 of Fahrenheit. Here it had been for some days at 90,—a degree of heat which is uncommon at any time in this part of the United States, and more especially so late in the season. We were anxious, in so fine an evening, to see something of New York, and sallied forth. But our enjoyment was not of long duration, for the heat was so overpowering, that we were soon forced to return. Nothing could be more gay than the appearance of the streets, especially Broadway, the favourite promenade, which is what Queen Street formerly was in Edinburgh in summer evenings, and what Bond Street or Regent Street now is in London; and the shops, here called stores, many of them very handsome, and lighted with gas, crowded with the population, whom the excessive warmth had kept in the house during the day, also arrested our attention.

We have now spent four days in the city, endeavouring to see those objects that are pointed out as best

worthy of a traveller's attention; but the weather continues so exceedingly sultry, that we have resolved to discontinue the necessary exertion, and to set out, without delay, on a tour to the northern part of the State of New York, and to the Falls of Niagara. I must content myself, therefore, at present, with noticing what struck us as most remarkable, or as differing much from what we had been accustomed to see, in our peregrinations through the metropolis of the New World. Its situation has been most happily chosen; in nearly the most central position of the shores of this great continent, with a harbour safe and deep, and of unlimited capacity, comprehending, as it does, the mouth of the Hudson itself,—unrivalled in its facilities of intercourse with the interior parts of the country, not merely by means of its sounds and rivers, but of its recently constructed canals, which, by the exertions of the late governor of this state, De Witt Clinton, were completed and brought into full operation three years ago. The Erie Canal, which will immortalize the name of Clinton, begins at that point in the River Hudson, about 160 miles to the northward of New York, where the river becomes no longer navigable for vessels of great size. The canal is above 360 miles long, affording communication to Lake Erie, which is elevated 568 feet above the Hudson at low water, and of course to Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior, the most extensive repository of fresh water on the globe. The successful execution of this great work has led to splendid continuations of the system of water communication, espe-

cially to the canal, now far advanced, from Lake Erie to the Ohio, which continues the internal navigation from New York to the Ohio, Missouri, and Mississippi, and of course to Pittsburg, Cincinnati, St Louis, New Orleans, and the Gulf of Mexico,—a line of internal water communication unparalleled in length in the world.

The Champlain Canal connects New York by Lake Champlain with Canada.

Independent of canals, New York enjoys prodigious advantages from her internal seas and rivers. Long Island Sound affords a second channel to the Atlantic, and a safe course to the steam-boats and shipping to the whole of Long Island, and to the states of Connecticut, and Rhode Island, to Newhaven, Hartford, and Providence. New York Sound, and the contiguous rivers, open the way to the coasts of New Jersey and Staten Island, and, by means of steam navigation, bring Philadelphia within a short day's journey of New York. It is not then to be wondered at, that with such a situation, the population and trade of New York should have increased in a degree unexampled, since all restrictions were removed at the peace of 1783. The population was then 22,000, and what is worthy of notice, had been pretty stationary for a dozen of years preceding. In 1790, seven years after the peace, it had increased to 33,000; in 1800 to 60,000; in 1820 to 123,000; in 1825 to 166,000; and is now about 200,000, besides the population of 10,000 or 12,000 in the village of Brocklyn, on Long Island, at the distance of a quarter of a mile. No other city in

the United states has increased in a corresponding proportion.

The value of merchandise annually imported and exported is now calculated to exceed one hundred millions of dollars. The post-office revenue has doubled since 1810, being then sixty, and now 121,000 dollars,—the same duty on goods sold by public auction, which in 1816 yielded 72,000, in 1826 amounted to 298,000 dollars.

Steam navigation, which was first of all introduced on the Hudson in 1807, has no doubt of late years contributed much to the growing population and commerce of the city. There are now between sixty and seventy steam vessels, many of them of great size, daily plying in the harbour and bay. Steam-boats of admirable construction convey passengers to New Jersey, to which the distance across the Hudson is about a mile and a-half, and to Brocklyn on Long Island, across Long Island Sound, or the East River, as it is most frequently called, so quickly, frequently, and cheaply, that the want of bridges, which, if practicable, would impede navigation, is not much felt. We had planned excursions to Staten Island, to the other islands in the bay, and to Hell Gate, a narrow passage in Long Island Sound, famous for its whirlpools and the rapidity of its currents,—but the state of the weather induced us to postpone our intention till our return. On our projected expedition to the north, we can avail ourselves, if the extreme heat continues, of the facility for travelling in such weather which the Erie Canal affords. We could

not, however, depart without crossing the ferry to Brocklyn to have a view from the terrace overlooking this city of the harbour, and the striking objects around it. The crowded part of the harbour is opposite to Brocklyn. In the bay, it was impossible not to admire particularly the elegant forms of the numerous sailing boats and small schooners, and the shape and colour of their sails, as white as snow.

The whole of Manhattan Island has been by the legislature subjected to statutory restrictions, with a view to its being built on as the city extends. There is little inequality of ground in any part of the island, and as the buildings proceed, the ground is levelled, so that only such a declivity is allowed to remain as is requisite for the necessary conduits. The city, therefore, does not possess any romantic or strongly marked feature, and can thus only be seen to advantage from the bay, or the high grounds of New Jersey, or of Long Island, or Staten Island. The present circuit of the city is somewhat more than eight miles. Broadway, the chief street, is between three and four miles long. It will be eight miles long when the plan of the city is completed. It is eighty feet broad—contains the best shops—several of the handsomest churches and dwelling-houses—and on one side of it, for a considerable way, has a fine open space called the Park, on which stands the City Hall. This hall, in which the courts are held, is the only very striking building. It is advantageously situated in the heart of the city, with a large open area around it, laid out in gravel walks, with trees on each side of them,

and well enclosed with a massive railing of iron manufacture. The building is 216 feet long, and 105 feet wide, of white marble in front, and would be noticed anywhere as handsome, though not without architectural faults. The churches, at least many of them, are large, but there is nothing in their architecture, or that of the steeples, particularly requiring notice. There is no building here to bear any thing like a comparison with many of the public buildings in the European capitals, such as St Martin's Church in London—the front of the Register Office in Edinburgh—or that of the Chamber of Deputies at Paris; but there are churches and public buildings in all those cities, of recent erection, quite as deficient in good taste as any of those which I observed here. In short, my notion is, that, though there is no very fine building in this city, there is not much to hurt the eye of the fastidious; and the city is generally composed of clean-looking buildings and streets, and is regularly built. There are still many buildings of wood, and frequent fires. We had not been long asleep on the night of our arrival, when we were alarmed by loud and repeated cries of fire; but we afterwards found that this is so common an occurrence, that none but the firemen, who are very expert, are disturbed by the cry. Strangers, however, should be warned of the frequency of the alarm. One of our party got up in a fright, thinking that the fire was in the hotel, and ran into the street.

Besides the area surrounding the city hall, the extent of which is only ten or twelve acres, there is not any

large vacant space in the city, excepting a piece of ground of about the same size laid out as pleasure-ground, called the battery, at the southern extremity of Broadway, and adjoining the bay. Its situation, and the views from it, are delightful, but its extent far too limited. Hudson Square is the only square hitherto finished, but the area is, as with us, private property. The dwelling-houses in it, and in the central parts of the city, are, as I was told, as high priced as in the best squares in Edinburgh.

The pavement all over the city is generally good, and the side pavements broader than in British cities. The police, in respect to cleanliness, is far better than I had been taught to expect, yet inferior, though not very much so, to British cities of the second class in point of size. In one respect, New York has greatly the advantage of any city in England that chiefly consists of brick houses. The outside of the brick buildings is almost always kept painted of the colour of the red brick, with white lime in the seams, which gives a clean, fresh, and cheerful appearance to the buildings, and to the city in general.

The buildings for public institutions and the churches seem quite as numerous as in British cities, when the difference of population is taken into account. On the day after our arrival, we attended divine service in the forenoon in Grace Church, an episcopal church, and in the presbyterian church in Cedar Street in the afternoon. The service was conducted in the same way as in churches of the same description with us, except-

ing that we observed the precentor's seat in the presbyterian church, in the centre of the front gallery, opposite to the preacher, and not in the body of the church, in front of the pulpit, as with us. These churches were well filled, and the streets crowded at the time of going to church; no shops, so far as we observed, open. There are about 100 churches in New York, with a population which is supposed to amount nearly to 200,000. In London, there are 500 churches, with 1,500,000 inhabitants. The clergymen have from 1500 to 3000 dollars per annum. The president of the United States was prayed for in the churches which we attended.

There are two large, and two smaller theatres. I looked into one of the former, the Bowery, which was just opened on its being rebuilt after being destroyed by fire; but I was glad to get out of it, though a very handsome house, as fast as possible. It was filled to suffocation in one of the hottest evenings I ever felt.

The neatness, lightness, and cleanness of the hackney-coaches, which are numerous, and the rapidity with which they, and all carriages, whether for the conveyance of passengers or effects, are driven, were new to us. We saw no heavy horses for waggons or carts; all are driven at a trot.

The hackney coaches are only constructed for four persons, very nice-looking without and within, generally driven by Irishmen, or men of colour, who are, we found, as apt to overcharge strangers as in other places. The carriages have heads, or tops, supported

on light iron frames; attached to the tops are curtains of silk, as well as of leather, which may be rolled up and buttoned, or let down at pleasure, so that the passengers may either have the space from the top of the carriage down to its middle altogether open, or inclosed with curtains of silk or leather. The fares vary according to the number of persons in the carriage, and the weight of baggage to be conveyed in it.

We have seen little of the manners of the people, the great heat of the weather having forced us at present to decline invitations, which were very hospitably given us by some of our fellow-passengers, whose good offices towards us on our arrival we can never recollect without grateful feelings. The dress of the people differs little from our own. Ladies seem to dress more smartly, when shopping or walking out in the forenoon, than in British cities; and their bonnets and head-dress are probably more according to the Parisian, than the London fashion. Shopkeepers, or rather storekeepers, —for a shop is uniformly called a store here,—are less obsequious in their manners than in Britain; but I have observed no want of civility any where.

The number of foreigners from all countries is great. One hears the French and Spanish languages almost in every street. Smoking of cigars seems universal now during the warm weather in the open air, the inhabitants being seated on the street, near the doors of their houses, or in their porticos or verandas. The noise of a grasshopper called the *Catydid*, from the trees in the evening, is quite overpowering. It is a beautiful insect,

of a bright green colour, constantly chirping *catydid, catydid,* or something very like it.

At the Custom-house, (where, by the way, it was a novelty to us to see the clerks in a great public office obliged, by the oppressive nature of the heat, to attend to their duty disrobed of their coats, and without neck-cloths,) the depute-collector showed something like official hauteur in the manner in which he detained us before we got our clearances for landing our baggage, for which a very trifling fee is paid; but we had no reason to find any fault with the subsequent arrangement, which is exactly as it ought to be in all countries. A revenue-officer, a very respectable-looking person, attended us on board of the packet. He very properly had every trunk and package opened, and made such examination as was sufficient to satisfy him that they contained no goods for traders, or for sale, and that no improper evasion of the law could take place, under the general exception from duty of travelling baggage. Considerable discretion must always rest with the officer in judging whether the quantity of articles of any description, such as books, &c. is greater than ought to be comprehended under this exception; and the government of this country, therefore, judge wisely in giving the officers such a salary,—about eight hundred dollars, we were told,—as will induce people of education and intelligence to accept the situation, and render the offer of a bribe, and its being accepted, equally improbable.

The accommodation at the hotel was very good. The general system at the American hotels is for the

whole inmates to eat together at fixed hours: in this hotel at eight to breakfast, three to dinner, six to tea and coffee, and nine to supper, the charge being at a fixed rate,—here a dollar and a half, or 6s. 4½d. Sterling, per day for board and lodging. The charge is less when the accommodation is required for a longer period than a few days, but is payable whether the inmate has his meals at home or abroad, and is exclusive of liquor.

Separate apartments may, however, be had in the great towns in the United States, and without any extra charge, when the party consists of five persons or more; but the payment is, even in this case, at the usual rate per day. Our party was anxious to remain together in private apartments while at New York, and we occupied a large and most comfortable dining-room, furnished in the same way, and as handsomely, as at the best hotels in Edinburgh or London. The table was excellent. A bill of fare was brought us every morning; but the maitre d'hotel was not satisfied with sending in those dishes alone which we marked, but, besides those, furnished every thing which he himself thought best. Turtle soup twice without extra charge; beef good; poultry excellent; fish different from what we had been accustomed to, and, as we thought, softer, and not so good; melons of very superior quality; peaches abundant, but not higher flavoured than our own; tea and coffee good; tea made by the person superintending the establishment, and not produced in the tea chest or canister.

The breakfasts were most abundant, consisting of fish, beef-steaks, broiled chicken, and eggs in large quantities, all produced without special directions. From what we have seen and heard, we entertain great doubts of the soundness of Dr Johnson's opinion, that an epicure would always desire to breakfast in Scotland. Wine-glasses are placed on the breakfast table in lieu of egg-cups. On inquiry, we learned from the waiter, that this is the universal custom, and that the Americans never eat an egg at once from the shell, but pour the contents into a wine-glass, in which they mix it up with salt before tasting it.

The bed-chambers do not correspond with the eating-rooms, either in appearance or accommodation,—the whole fitting up and furnishing looking meagre: Beds without curtains,—not a bit of carpet in the bed-rooms,—even water not so plentiful as is requisite, most of all in a warm climate,—neither hot nor cold baths in this, one of the two greatest hotels in New York,—nor proper accommodation of a different, but still more necessary description. The waiter shrugged his shoulders on pointing out a court behind one of the piazzas at the back of the house, where I found a row of temples alternately for males or females. I am told the British complain every where of the privations to which they are subjected, from the want of proper accommodation of this kind. The natives not being much accustomed to find it, are not aware of its value. Sure I am, if they once had it in perfection, they would take the necessary means to possess it. An abundant supply of water is

no doubt necessary before it is attainable; but the wealth and population of this great city increase so rapidly, that that object will be effected in a few years. Water is both deficient in quantity and quality here. Much of it is brought in carts from a considerable distance, and sold at a high price. Mosquitos have plagued us much less than we were taught to expect,—not more than wood-flies sometimes do in Britain. The common fly is in great numbers, and very troublesome.

Iced soda water from the fountain is the liquid in universal use by all descriptions of persons, and is admirably prepared,—the pleasantest beverage, as it appeared to me, that I had ever tasted in warm weather. It is frequently mixed with a small portion of lemon syrup; the price threepence Sterling for a tumbler. It is prepared and sold in almost every street. The demand at the fountains is so great, that very large sums of money have been made by the manufacturers.

In point of language, we could not observe any very perceptible difference between that in general use at New York and in many parts of England, certainly not so great as between that spoken in the west end of the town, and in parts of the *city* of London. The people are not so ruddy complexioned, nor so stout, as in Britain; but we thought them, especially those of the fair sex, very good-looking. The immense number of people of colour,—many of them as well dressed as the whites,—was one of the greatest novelties to us. Perhaps nothing struck us more than the style of the commencement of their legal writings, which we observed

in the last page of the first newspaper put into our hands. Instead of the British form of "George the Fourth, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King," it runs, "The People of the state of New York, by the Grace of God, free and independent." Newspapers innumerable are seen everywhere. In going out early in the morning you find them lying at the doors of almost every house before the inmates are out of bed. They contain a great deal of statistical information,—of intelligence and remarks respecting their local elections, and their public works in progress,—but little attention seems to be paid to the collecting of domestic news or occurrences, reports from their police courts, or courts of law. Advertising is so cheap, that the newspapers are much more generally, than with us, used as advertising vehicles. Puffing seems well understood. Take the following as examples:—John Dillon, an undertaker for funerals, closes a long advertisement thus: "J. D. has provided two hearses of different styles to suit the taste of different people, one being on the American, and the other on the European plan. Attached to the latter are two full sets of rich massy mourning plumes in the London style, which may be used or not, at the pleasure of the employer. One set is intended for single, and the other for married, persons. The former are all white, to denote the purity and innocence of youth; while the latter are jet-black, to represent the gloom of that heart from which its conjugal counterpart has been torn by the hand of death." I suspect none of our undertakers

have shown equal regard to the feelings of the Americans, in providing, in any of our cities, a hearse on their plan. A clothier, who changes his advertisement almost every month, has the following notice:—"*Quid pro Quo.*—Not a year since, in traversing the lower end of William Street, any one may have noticed a tall and rather genteel-looking man, with a melancholy countenance, hanging over his shop-board in a sort of hopeless expectation. Poverty is amazingly apt to produce your long faces. To make a bad matter still worse, fire eventually untenanted him. Notwithstanding this, Charles Cox, of 44, William Street, has now a jolly-looking phiz, most marvellously shortened. The discernment—or more properly, perhaps, the kindness—of the public, enables him to boast (and he does it with grateful feelings,) of an unprecedented patronage since his return to his former stand. From the extreme pressure of business, he is very sorry he has been under the necessity of disappointing some customers; but this, by new arrangements, will hereafter be completely obviated. These changes of circumstances, however, have not changed his plan a whit. His garments are manufactured with the same elegance, excellence, and cheapness, (for cash only,) as formerly; and he is the same good-natured fellow that all men should be who are well patronized, and receive the '*quid pro quo.*'"

Lotteries are very common, but the legislature has fixed the period at which they are to be discontinued, or has declared that they are to be discontinued after those already sanctioned are drawn.

We were puzzled with a sign at No. 321, Broadway. "Intelligence Office. Male and female help can be obtained, by applying at this office." Servants do not like the name, and are frequently called Helps, so that the meaning of the notice is, that servants can be obtained there.

Signs are universally more neatly painted than with us. Goods in large quantities are exhibited at the doors of the stores. The pavement of the streets is generally covered with awnings, so that passengers are well protected from the effects of the bright sunshine.

One cry in the streets at this season surprised us, "Corn piping hot." This is the Indian corn boiled, and very good it is, often produced at table; one sort of it particularly so. A more musical cry, to our ears, in this hot weather, was "ice," by carters driving carts of ice for sale, in small quantities, all over the city.

Republican customs are observable in the plainness of the address on the door-plates, on which *Mr*, before the name, is always omitted. The governor of the state—the merchant worth a million—and the mechanic,—have their names engraved on the door-plates in the very same style.

We have only yet had an opportunity of seeing one instance of the greater courtesy paid to females in this country, of which we have heard much. In passing across the ferry to Brocklyn in a steam-boat, my wife, and three gentlemen who accompanied her, were seated, when some females came into the boat, and all the seats were occupied. Their male attendant at once

addressed those gentlemen, "Ladies, gentlemen;" and they of course relinquished their seats. It behoved them to have done so, whoever the females might be, mechanics' wives, or even in what we should call the lower orders of society.

We have not been accosted by a beggar in New York. The streets seem to be well watered.

CHAPTER III.

The Steam-Boat, North America—Trip in her from New York to Albany—The Hudson River—Breakfast and Dinner in the Steam-Boat—Spit-boxes—Eagle Inn at Albany—Fulton's Discovery of Steam Navigation—Henry Bell, of Glasgow, built first Steam-Boat in Britain in 1812—First Steam-Boat in Western Rivers of America in 1811.

August 1828.

THE continuance of intense heat (Fahrenheit's thermometer at 90,) having led us to shorten our stay at New York, we, that is, the friend who accompanied us, my wife and I, proceeded on 28th August from New York to Albany, in the North America steamer, the most beautiful and swift of the floating palaces on the Hudson, or, as I believe, I may add with truth, in the world. She left New York at 7 A. M., and arrived here at half-past 5 P. M.

The distance is 154 miles, and the scenery throughout of the most interesting and diversified description. We feel, as having seen more of the beauties of nature in one day than we have ever done before, far too much to allow us accurately to recollect all that passed before us, or to give even a sketch of it.

The boat leaves the wharf in the very heart of the city of New York, surrounded by splendid objects; on the one side of the river, the city and bay of New York; and on the other, at the distance of a mile and a-half, the city of Jersey, projected into the river, very much as Burntisland is on the Firth of Forth, the promontory and pleasure-grounds of Hoboken, and behind them the abrupt hills of Weehawken. Those hills, which, when they approach the river, are called the Palisadoes, form in most places a precipitous wall, from 200 to 700 feet high, for about thirty miles on the western side of the river. The New York, or eastern side, exhibits a waving outline of rich, cultivated, and undulating country, ornamented with villas, farm-houses, and cottages, and bounded by sloping rising grounds.

The river itself expands into a noble bay, four or five miles wide, called the Tappan Sea, about thirty miles from New York, at the top of which, ten miles farther on, the banks approach each other so closely, that the channel, through which the river has at a distant period forced its way by some violent convulsion, is not perceived until you almost enter it. Here we suddenly found ourselves in a narrow pass between precipitous mountain tops, rising on both sides from the water's edge to an elevation of 1200 or 1500 feet. These mountains or hills, as we should view them, are what are called the Highlands of the Hudson; and this the entry to them seemed to us the most remarkable point on the river, not to be contemplated without

feelings of the deepest interest. The river course continues to run in this defile among romantic hills covered with wood, sweetly inlaid with plateaus of green pasture, and of table land, for about twenty miles. The farm-houses and villages look as if they hang on the cliffs, or as if rising by terraces from the water edge. The river is of various breadths, from a mile and a-half to two miles. The projecting rocks often force it to change its direction, so much indeed, that you frequently appear to be sailing in a lake, from which you cannot discover an outlet.

Fort Putnam, Stoney Point, and the chief military posts of the Americans on the northern territory during the revolutionary war, and of course the most interesting places in their history, the scenes of Arnold's treachery, and of Andre's misfortunes, are all situated on the banks of this part of the river. West Point, which is placed on a beautiful piece of level land above the river, is now the great military academy for all the states of the North American confederacy.

The ocean tides carry sufficient depth of water for the largest vessels through the whole of this primitive mountain chain, exhibiting the only example yet discovered where this takes place, excepting on the St Lawrence, which passes through a chain of primitive mountains, on a breach of which Quebec stands.

After leaving the Highlands, the banks of the river are comparatively low, 100 or 150 feet in height. The hills through which we had passed incline to the right, and do not break off till they reach the St Lawrence.

The river for sixty or seventy miles frequently opens into beautiful lakes and bays, with projecting and marked shores. Great part of this district, which is called the Valley of the Hudson, consists of good land and fine corn-fields, and is one of the richest parts of the state of New York. The town of Newburg on the one side, the village of Fishkill on the other, the noble terrace of Hyde Park, the Dutchess County, famed for its fertility, are all situated in the southern part of this reach. On the upper part of it, the grand range of mountains called the Catskills, about 3000 feet high, which are a spur from the Alleghanies, and the populous city of Hudson strikingly placed on a fine promontory, are the most prominent objects. From Hudson to Albany, about forty miles, the Hudson has more the appearance of a river than below. It is here ornamented with many islands,—the shores become less steep,—the country rich looking, and more peopled. Villas on the banks appear more frequently in approaching Albany, the view of which, from the river, is very striking. The oldest part of the city reaches to the water's edge, but a great part of it is on a fine elevation on the face of a hill.

The Hudson was discovered by a native of England, Henry Hudson, then in the service of the Dutch government, and in quest of a north-west passage to India. An original portrait of him hangs in the city hall of New York.

The Hudson is still a large river, and navigable for small sloops to Waterford, thirty miles north from Al-

bany, above which the tides do not flow. It is there joined by the Mohawk river, a considerable stream. The sources of both rivers are in the northern parts of New York state, at the distance of about 120 miles from Waterford. The direction of the river from New York to Albany is pretty directly to the north, with occasionally a slight inclination to the westward.

Whether the glorious scenery of the Hudson be superior to that of the Rhine, the Danube, or any of the European rivers, which many of the Americans who have travelled in Europe maintain, I, who have not seen the greatest of those rivers, do not pretend to say, —but I am very much mistaken, if there be anywhere continuously in Great Britain so remarkable a combination of natural beauty and romantic scenery as on the Hudson between New York and Albany. Nowhere in the British dominions can so great variety of interesting and pleasing objects be seen in the course of a single day. The Trosachs resemble the passage through the Highlands of the Hudson, though in miniature in all respects but one, the grandeur of the bounding objects. The lofty mountains of the Highlands of Scotland impart a character of sublimity to those justly celebrated works of nature, which is here to a certain extent awanting.

No stranger should visit New York without seeing the Hudson. If his time be limited, so that he cannot make his voyage by divisions at the rate of fifty or sixty miles a-day, he may get a tolerable idea of the beauties of the river, and of the excellence of the North Ameri-

can steam-boats, by proceeding by the North America steamer to Albany on the one day, and returning on the following; but if he is proceeding by the Hudson to Canada, which is frequently the case with the English, who, on account of the superiority of the packets, and in order to avoid the dangerous navigation in ascending the St Lawrence, generally prefer the New York route to Canada, he should content himself with seeing one-half of the Hudson in a day, and should by all means make the hotel of Hyde Park, which is about eighty miles from New York, his stopping-place, in the neighbourhood of which he may spend a few hours to good account, in visiting the splendid grounds in the vicinity, and beholding those noble views of the river which are to be seen here, in which the Catskill mountains form a bold and remarkable feature.

The Hudson, then, not only contributes most essentially to the commercial prosperity and greatness of New York, but in no ordinary degree to the enjoyment of its inhabitants, and of every foreigner who is led to the United States. Where is there such a river or such scenery, not only so easily, but so luxuriously seen, so near any of the other capitals in the world? It is in the power of a European, on the very day after his arrival in the United States, without any exertion on his part, except a five minutes' walk from his hotel, to behold that part of this "exulting and abounding river," the sight of which is sufficient to repay him for all the annoyances attending a transatlantic voyage.

When we embarked in the steamer yesterday morn-

ing, there seemed to us a considerable number of passengers, and no difference between the descriptions of people in any part of her on deck. Chairs and benches covered the decks both above and below; for the American steam-boats being, with few exceptions, intended for the smooth navigation of rivers, are provided, without endangering their security, with upper or additional decks, which not only afford greater accommodation for passengers, but a situation the best calculated for those who take pleasure in viewing with attention the country through which they pass. The machinery being altogether on deck, the space appropriated to passengers below is also much increased. The North America, too, has even more than is usual of the remaining space fitted up for passengers, because few beds are required in her, her voyages being altogether made in the day. She has oftener than once conveyed 1000 passengers at a time, though under 500 tons in tonnage. Yesterday the number was said to be about 300.

The North America is splendidly fitted up and furnished; the cabinet work very handsome; the whole establishment of kitchen servants, waiters, and cooks, all people of colour, on a great scale. Dr Macleod, a native of Scotland, a zealous Presbyterian clergyman, long established in New York, and a true republican, and Mr Anderson, a Scotsman, from St Andrew's in Fifeshire, a gentleman advanced in life, who has been very successful at New York, (both of whom were known to the friend who accompanied us,) being among our fellow-passengers, we soon had a sufficiently nu-

merous acquaintance, and much agreeable conversation. The charms of the scenery were described to us with enthusiasm, and great anxiety shown to give us the knowledge we required relative to those places we passed in rapid succession, which were famed in the revolutionary annals of this country, or which have been immortalized by the able and amusing pen of the author of the Sketch Book. We were of course expected, in our turn, to afford such information as was asked of us respecting persons and things in our own country; but no greater disposition to be inquisitive was shown than was consistent with the ordinary manners in England, when a meeting of a similar kind takes place. I notice this the more, because, from what I had heard, as well as read, I expected some questions to be put to me respecting my profession, business in the United States, and such matters; but I was agreeably disappointed. The persons in this country about whom inquiries were chiefly made were, as was to be looked for, Sir Walter Scott, Mr Brougham, and Dr Chalmers.

Most of our fellow-passengers were, we found, on their way to Saratoga springs, which are the chief Harrowgate of the United States, about thirty miles to the northward of Albany. One object of the journey was to avoid the air of New York during the present tract of hot weather.

We had breakfast and dinner in the steam-boat. The stewardess observing, that we were foreigners, gave notice to my wife some time previous to the

breakfast-bell at eight, and dinner-bell at two, so that we might have it in our power to go to the cabin, and secure good places at table before the great stream of passengers left the deck. Both meals were good, and very liberal in point of quantity. The breakfast consisted of the same articles that had been daily set before us at the city hotel, with a large supply of omelettes in addition. The equipage and whole style of the thing good. The people seemed universally to eat more animal food than the British are accustomed to do, even at such a breakfast as this, and to eat quickly.

The dinner consisted of two courses, 1. of fish, including very large lobsters, roast-meat, especially roast-beef, beef-steaks, and fowls of various kinds, roasted and boiled, potatoes and vegetables of various kinds; 2. which is here called the dessert, of pies, puddings, and cheese.

Pitchers of water and small bottles of brandy were on all parts of the table; very little brandy was used at that part of the table where we sat. A glass tumbler was put down for each person; but no wine-glasses, and no wine drank. Wine and spirits of all sorts, and malt liquors, and lemonade, and ice for all purposes, may be had at the bar, kept in one of the cabins. There is a separate charge for every thing procured there; but no separate charge for the brandy put down on the dinner-table, which may be used at pleasure. The waiters will, if desired, bring any liquor previously ordered, and paid for to them, or at the bar, to the dining-table.

Dinner was finished, and most people again on deck in less than twenty minutes. They seemed to me to eat more at breakfast than at dinner. I soon afterwards looked into the dining-room, and found that there was not a single straggler remaining at his bottle. Many people, however, were going into and out of the room, where the bar is railed off, and where the barkeeper was giving out liquor.

The men of colour who waited at table were clean-looking, clever, and active,—evidently picked men in point of appearance.

We had observed a very handsome woman of colour, as well dressed, and as like a female of education, as any of those on board, on deck. My wife, who had some conversation with her, asked her, when she found that she had not dined with us, why she had not been in the cabin? She replied very modestly, that the people of this country did not eat with the people of colour. The manners and appearance of this lady were interesting, and would have distinguished her anywhere.

The charge for breakfast and dinner was half-a-dollar for each person, (exclusive of the fare, which was two dollars,) for each meal. We observed nothing to find fault with in this beautiful vessel, but the presence of spit-boxes everywhere,—a necessary evil, I suspect, whilst cigars, and tobacco in other shapes, are so generally used as in this country. Smoking of cigars is not, however, allowed in the cabins, or on the decks in the after part of the vessel.

Let us not be too fastidious. Spit-boxes have only disappeared in Scotland within these thirty years, and not even totally, at so late a date.

Our voyage of 154 miles, occupied, as already mentioned, ten hours and a-half, so that our rate of moving was nearty fifteen miles an hour; but, as the delay at nine landing-places, where the North America regularly stops in the course of each trip to Albany, occupies above an hour, the voyage was performed at a rate somewhat exceeding sixteen miles an hour. She sometimes completes it in nine hours and a-half, but on an average, in less than twelve hours. Her average speed through the water, independent of tide, is ascertained to be above fourteen miles an hour. Formerly, the voyage between New York and Albany frequently occupied no less than eight days. The benefits of steam navigation are therefore nowhere more apparent than here. To the western States, on the great rivers, the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Missouri, they are incalculable.

Fulton, who unquestionably had the merit, the great merit, of accomplishing what many ingenious men had previously unsuccessfully attempted, is well entitled to the lasting gratitude of the people of the United States; and it will not be to their credit, if the general government do not, in the end, make some great and liberal provision for the family of an individual, who was so great a benefactor of his own country, and of the world. It is as well established, that Fulton first of all adapted the steam engine to the model of such a vessel as would

answer the purpose, as that many able men had previously pretty clearly perceived that the thing was possible, although they could not exactly hit on the method of doing it.

I do not allude to Vasco de Garay in the 16th century, nor to the Marquis of Worcester in the succeeding one; because, although they expressed decided opinions of the possibility of propelling vessels against wind and tide, neither of their descriptions proves that steam was the propelling agent to which they trusted; but Jonathan Hulls, the Marquis de Joffroy, the Duke of Bridgewater, Mr Miller of Dalswinton, Lord Stanhope, and others in the last century, undoubtedly were convinced of the practicability of propelling vessels by steam, and only failed in the application of that agent to a proper model. It was left for Fulton, in the 19th century, to confer on his country and the world this great boon; but let those who assisted him have their due share of praise. Henry Bell of Glasgow either gave him the model of the vessel, which made the first voyage, or aided him most materially in her construction. Messrs Boulton, Watt, and Co. of Birmingham, manufactured the engine used in her. And Chancellor Livingston, of the state of New York, encouraged the undertaking, although at the time laughed at as a wild speculation, and assisted Fulton with the pecuniary means necessary for carrying it into execution. The difficulties he after all encountered were such, that, though the engine was furnished in the year 1804, it was not until the summer of 1807 that it was put to

use in the vessel, the Clermont, of 160 tons, in which, on the Hudson, the first steam-boat voyage in the world was made. Fulton's letter to his friend, Joel Barlow, giving an account of that experimental voyage, is extremely interesting.

My Dear Friend, New York, *August* 2, 1807.

" My steam-boat voyage to Albany and back has turned out rather more favourable than I had calculated. The distance from New York to Albany is 150 miles; I ran it up in thirty-two hours, and down in thirty hours; the latter is just five miles an hour. I had a light breeze against me the whole way going and coming, so that no use was made of my sails, and the voyage has been performed wholly by the power of the steam engine. I overtook many sloops and schooners beating to windward, and passed them as if they had been at anchor.

" The power of propelling boats by steam is now fully proved. The morning I left New York, there were not perhaps thirty persons in the city who believed that the boat would ever move one mile an hour, or be of the least utility; and while we were putting off from the wharf, which was crowded with spectators, I heard a number of sarcastic remarks. This is the way, you know, in which ignorant men compliment what they call philosophers and projectors.

" Having employed much time, and money, and zeal, in accomplishing this work, it gives me, as it will you, great pleasure to see it so fully answer my expec-

tations. It will give a cheap and quick conveyance to merchandize on the Mississippi and Missouri, and other great rivers, which are now laying open their treasures to the enterprize of our countrymen. And although the prospect of personal emolument has been some inducement to me, yet I feel infinitely more pleasure in reflecting with you on the immense advantage that my country will derive from the invention."

It is not very creditable to the spirit of enterprize, for which Great Britain and the United States, the two greatest commercial nations, take credit, to find that several years elapsed after the power of propelling vessels by steam was thus in 1807 completely proved, before any attempt to construct a steam vessel in Britain was made, and before steam-boats appeared on the great western rivers of America, for the navigation of which they are, above all, admirably calculated.

The first steam-boat in Britain was constructed in 1812 by Henry Bell, to navigate the Clyde between Glasgow and Helensburgh; the first steam-boat on the western rivers of America was built at Pittsburg, on the Ohio, above 2000 miles from the sea, in 1811; no attempt to ascend them from New Orleans to Louisville, on the Ohio, distant from each other above 1350 miles, was made till 1817, when the event was celebrated by a rejoicing, and a public dinner at Louisville to Captain Shreve, who accomplished that voyage in twenty-five days, now generally completed in from twelve to fourteen; nor was it till the year 1818 that

the first steam-vessel to make regular *sea* voyages was constructed at Dumbarton, to ply between Greenock and Belfast.

The State of New York was early sensible of the great services which Fulton had rendered; and conferred on him a most valuable monopoly,—the exclusive right to navigate in the waters of the state with steam vessels for a term of years; if I remember right, till the year 1838. It was subsequently, indeed, found, after a keen litigation in the supreme court of the United States, that no separate state could establish such a monopoly,—the general government alone having power, by the American constitution, "to regulate commerce among the several states." New York State, however, it is undeniable, showed their feeling of lasting obligation to their meritorious countryman, and their desire to see him suitably rewarded;—and now, when it is known, that, in consequence of his premature death (for he died in 1815,) he left no inheritance to his children;—and when it is fully ascertained, that the great discovery attained by his skill, exertions, and perseverance, have tended to advance the improvement of the United States generally to an incredible degree, and of the western states of the union, probably at least half a century, it is to the general government that his family should look for the liberal and merited discharge of a debt most justly due to their deceased parent.

My own countrymen are, to admit the truth, almost as much to blame, in delaying long, to make any provision for Mr Bell, who had, there is reason to believe,

not much less perseverance and knowledge of the subject than Mr Fulton, and only wanted the pecuniary means to have turned them to good account. His necessitous circumstances at last obtained an alimentary provision for him; but he lived only a short time afterwards to enjoy it.

CHAPTER IV.

Albany— Population — Horse-Ferry-Boat — General Van Rensellaer, the Patroon of Albany—Mrs Grant of Laggan's Sketches of Albany, and of American Manners—The Erie Canal—Continuation of that communication from Lake Erie to the Ohio River—The Champlain Canal—Imperial Canal of China—Languedoc Canal—Holstein Canal—Bridgewater Canal—Canal from Amsterdam to the Helder Point—Chinese Canals.

29th August.

ALBANY consists of one street of very considerable length, parallel with the river, from which the rest of the city rises abruptly. The capitol, containing the chambers of the Houses of Representatives and Senators, from which there is a commanding view of the city, the river, the canal, and the fine well-cultivated adjacent district, stands at the top of a steep, but handsome and very wide street, called State Street, from which many streets and lanes, in which are the crowded part of the city, diverge. The population rapidly increases: in 1800, only 4000; in 1810, 10,000; in 1825, 15,000; and now certainly above 20,000. This is easily accounted for by the far greater facilities that have followed the introduction of steam-boats and the establish-

ment of the Erie Canal. Albany is now the second city in the state in point of population. It was originally settled by the Dutch in 1612, and retained by them till the year 1664, when New York, then called Amsterdam, and Albany, then called Williamstadt, with the other Dutch possessions in this quarter, were surrendered to the British. Charles the Second granted the whole to his brother, James Duke of York and Albany, from whom the cities of New York and Albany take their names. Albany, being so near the top of tide navigation, is a place of great resort and bustle. That part of the town, in which was our hotel, seemed full of stages and waggons, and contained apparently an unusual number of stores.

The appearance of the city from Greenbush, on the opposite side of the river, to which there is a horse-ferry-boat, is striking and splendid; the situation, on the side of a hill, is favourable for every part of it being seen;—and the capitol and public buildings are fine large objects.

The horse-ferry-boat over the river is, I believe, peculiar to America,—certainly an American invention,—and extremely convenient in situations where the intercourse across a river is considerable, yet not so great as to authorize the expenditure required for a steam-boat. Two vertical wheels resembling the paddle wheels of a steam-boat are moved by a large wheel placed horizontally below the deck of a boat, and propelled by horses, so placed on its surface at the sides of the boat, from which the deck is removed, that the mo-

tion of their feet in grooves cut in the wheel moves it forward in a direction opposite to that in which they appear to be pressing forward. The number of horses is of course greater or less, according to the size of the boat, rapidity of the tide, and other circumstances.

At the north end of Albany, near the termination of Market Street, is the residence of General Van Rensellaer, the Patroon, the greatest, or most wealthy, landed proprietor in the United States. The mansion-house has more of the accompaniments of garden, shrubbery, conservatory, &c. than is, I am told, often seen in this country; but no great quantity of land is devoted to what we call pleasure-grounds. Mrs Grant of Laggan, in her curious sketches of American manners and scenery, written a few years previous to the American revolution, gives this account of the origin of the family of Rensellaer: "A gentleman of the name of Rensellaer was considered as in a manner Lord Paramount of this city, Albany; a pre-eminence which his successor still enjoys, both with regard to the town and the lands adjacent. The original proprietor had obtained from the High and Mighty States a grant of lands, which beginning at the church, extended twelve miles in every direction, forming a manor of twenty-four Dutch miles in length, the same in breadth,—including lands not only of the best quality of any in the province, but the most happily situated, both for the purpose of commerce and agriculture. This great proprietor was looked up to as much as republicans in a new country could be supposed to look up to any one.

He was called the patroon,—a designation tantamount to lord of the manor. Yet, in the distribution of these lands, the sturdy Belgian spirit of independence set limits to the power and profits of this lord of the forests, as he might then be called. None of these lands were either sold or alienated. The more wealthy settlers, as the Schuylers, Cuylers, &c. took very extensive leases of the fertile plains along the river, with boundless liberty of woods and pasturage to the westward. The terms were, that the lease should hold while water runs and grass grows, and the landlord to receive the tenth sheaf of every kind of grain the ground produces. Thus ever accommodating the rent to the fertility of the soil and changes of the seasons. You may suppose the tenants did not greatly fear a landlord, who could neither remove them nor heighten their rents. Thus, without the pride of property, they had all the independence of proprietors. They were like German princes, who, after furnishing their contingent to the Emperor, might make war on him when they chose. Besides the profits yearly augmenting, which the patroon drew from his ample possessions, he held in his own hands an extensive and fruitful demesne. Yet, preserving in a great measure the simple and frugal habits of his ancestors, his wealth was not an object of envy, nor a source of corruption to his fellow citizens." The present proprietor of these extensive possessions is a person of the most amiable and benevolent disposition, and greatest respectability of character. A zealous encourager of public improvements, and judicious

manager of the vast property here, and in other parts of the United States, which belongs to him; always happiest when he has it in his power to be of use to his tenants, or to those with whom the care of his estates leads him to be connected. He is now advanced in life; and the only individual in the United States to whom, on account of his great property, and the veneration with which they regard him, the people have since the revolution continued the title or distinction which his family had previously enjoyed. Even official distinctions are now on the wane in this country.

The great possessions of the patroon have hitherto passed undivided to the eldest son of the family; but it seems to be understood, that the present proprietor, who has a large family, intends to divide them among his children, as is almost universally the practice in this country, and according to the disposition of law since the revolution, where the proprietor does not otherwise divide his property.

Near the residence of the patroon is the great basin of the Erie and Champlain canals, thirty-two acres in extent, the river being let in between the shore and a pier 4300 feet in length, consisting of eight acres, connected with the city by drawbridges. The canals are works of which the State of New York has great reason to be proud; but it is only by comparing them with other similar works, that their magnificence can be judged of. Their whole course is within the State of New York, that of the Erie Canal, westward by the valley of the Mohawk, and of the Champlain Canal,

northward by that of the Hudson. The length of the former is 363; of the latter, 63 miles; in all, 426 miles. They were commenced in July 1817, and completed in October 1825, in eight years and four months. The object of the Erie Canal is to form a communication between New York and the internal, or Mediterranean seas of North America, and through them to the great western country of the United States, and the rivers Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri. The object of the Champlain Canal is to form a communication through Lake Champlain, and the river Richelieu or Chambly, with the St Lawrence and Canada.

The Erie Canal includes 83 locks 90 feet long, and 18 aqueducts, one of which is about 1200, and two about 800, feet in length. The canal is 40 feet wide at the top, and four feet deep.

The valley of the Mohawk offered great facilities for the construction of above 100 miles of the Erie Canal nearest to Albany, and that of the Hudson, the highest summit level between which and Lake Champlain being only 140 feet above the tide in the Hudson, afforded advantages in forming the Champlain Canal almost unparalleled. But those natural resources might have remained comparatively little noticed and little known, but for the zeal, public spirit, and indefatigable exertions of the late De Witt Clinton, governor of this State; a man who seems to have in the most disinterested manner devoted himself to the developement of its means of improvement, and to whom alone the merit of having the canals constructed at this period is truly

to be ascribed. The soundness of his views was long questioned by very eminent persons connected with the State; but it has been fully proved by the complete success which has attended the execution of the undertaking, as well as the financial scheme on which it was founded. The whole expence amounted to about nine millions of dollars, and the revenue for the year 1827 was 859,000 dollars. The memorial which Governor Clinton prepared for the New York Legislature in the year 1816, recommending the immediate construction of the canals, as preserved in Dr Hossack's valuable and interesting memoir of the life of Governor Clinton, is quite a model of such a composition. Perspicuous in all its parts,—pointing out, first of all, the prodigious importance of the appeal submitted to the Legislature,—enlarging on the great duty of the government of every State to improve the means of intercourse between its different parts,—and then applying the views, which had been fully explained and illustrated, to the object of the memorial by most lucid statements, and ample information, especially by detailed references to similar works which had been completely successful, notwithstanding very formidable obstacles, both natural and in point of money.

The eloquence of the concluding part of the memorial sufficiently authorizes its being here recorded: "It may be confidently asserted, that this canal, as to the extent of its route,—as to the countries which it connects,—and as to the consequences which it will produce, is without a parallel in the history of mankind.

The union of the Baltic and the Euxine; of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean; of the Euxine and the Caspian; and of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, has been projected or executed by the chiefs of powerful monarchies; and the splendour of the design has always attracted the admiration of the world. It remains for a free state to create a new era in history; and to erect a work, more stupendous, more magnificent, and more beneficial, than has hitherto been achieved by the human race. Character is as important to nations as to individuals; and the glory of a republic, founded on the promotion of the general good, is the common property of all its citizens.

"We have thus discharged with frankness and plainness, and with every sentiment of respect, a great duty to ourselves, to our fellow-citizens, and to posterity, in presenting this subject to the fathers of the commonwealth. And may that Almighty Being, in whose hands are the destinies of states and nations, enlighten your councils, and invigorate your exertions, in favour of the best interests of our beloved country."

This memorial, presented on the part of the citizens of New York, in February 1816, was, after much opposition, referred by the legislature to a committee of five, who were directed to take the necessary measures for exploring the line of country; for estimating the expence; for ascertaining how the necessary funds could be raised; and to apply for donations of land and money. Governor Clinton was president of the board, and presented their reports in February and March 1817. The

bill authorizing the construction of the canals passed the legislature on 15th April. The first meeting of the commissioners was held on 3d June, and the work was commenced on 4th July, all in the same year, 1817. The bare reference to dates shows the energy with which the commissioners prosecuted the undertaking.

The work was not long successfully carried on, before the State of Ohio,—a state, the first settlement in which was not made until several years after the separation of the colonies from Great Britain in 1783,—followed the example of the State of New York, and began to consider how Governor Clinton's great project of completing the communication to the western rivers of America, by a canal from Lake Erie to the Ohio, was to be effected.

They obtained plans and estimates, which, before proceeding, they transmitted to Governor Clinton for his opinion and advice. The governor's reply to the communication was most satisfactory; expressing it to be his decided opinion, that, as no insurmountable physical difficulty was in their way, they had no question to consider, but the designation of the most expedient route; because, as the canal through Ohio State would, in connection with the Erie and Champlain Canals, form a communication between the Bay of New York, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Gulf of St Lawrence, the advantages were in every point of view sufficiently obvious; this line of internal seas embracing within its influence the greater part of the United States, and of Canada.

Accordingly, the legislature of Ohio, in February 1825, authorized the construction of their great canal, 320 miles long, from Lake Erie by Chillicothe, and passing near Columbus, the seat of legislature of the state, to the river Ohio.

Much of it is now finished. When completed, three years hence, the market of New Orleans will not be more open to the western states,—to the people of Missouri, Indiana, and Ohio,—than that of New York or of Montreal, and the greater part of the United States,—all of it, in fact, except what is situated to the westward of the Mississippi, will, as stated in one of Clinton's admirable addresses, "form one vast island, susceptible of circumnavigation, to the extent of many thousand miles. The most distant parts of the confederacy will then be in a state of approximation, and the distinctions of eastern and western, of southern and northern interests, will be entirely prostrated. To be instrumental in producing so much good, by increasing the stock of human happiness; by establishing the perpetuity of free government; and by extending the empire of knowledge, of refinement, and of religion, is an ambition worthy of a free people. The most exalted reputation is that which arises from the dispensation of happiness to our fellow creatures."

The Champlain Canal, although attended with most beneficial consequences to the State of New York, and to the United States generally, in opening the commerce of the Canadian sea, is not to be compared in importance with the Erie Canal; but its construction

has been accompanied by even more singular effects, in completing, by a water communication only sixty-three miles in length, the division of the New England States, comprehending Massachussets, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire, with a part of the State of New York, from the remainder of the United States. A great chasm, not less than 387 miles in length, extending from the Atlantic Ocean in a direction a little east of north, is occupied by the Hudson River from Sandyhook to Glen's Falls, which are within twenty-two miles of Lake Champlain, by an intermediate table land to the head of Lake Champlain by the lake itself, and its outlet, the Richelieu, or Chambly river, into the St Lawrence. Darby remarks, that there is only one other pass on the earth having a resemblance to this glen, viz. that which divides Scotland into unequal sections; and through which the Caledonian Canal has been lately carried, declining a little towards the meridians from north-east and south-west, and extending from the Atlantic Ocean into the German Sea, having no summit above seventy feet, though bounded by high mountains. " In one respect," Darby mentions, " these two vales excite astonishment; in their extent they deviate so little from a direct line, as to almost appear the effects of large masses of solid matter having been impelled with prodigious velocity over the earth's surface. In both, the lakes, as well as the rivers, obey the general direction; and in the Scottish glen, the Murray Firth, Loch Ness, Loch Oich, Loch Lochy, Loch Eil, and the Firth or Loch Linhe,

supply the same office performed in North America by Hudson River, Wood Creek, Lake Champlain, and Chambly River. Both passes have been recently made navigable; that in North America by the Champlain Canal, and that in Scotland by the Caledonian Canal. Perhaps no two facts in history more strongly mark the progressive advance, not alone of improvements in means of transportation, but in an infinitely more important subject,—the human mind."

There is not in Europe any canal of equal length with the Erie Canal. The greatest continuous line of canal is that of the Imperial Canal of China, which is said to be 900 miles long, 200 feet broad, and to have been constructed 800 years ago; but the Chinese are ignorant of the system of lockage, by means of which different levels are connected in the European and American canals.

The first considerable work of this description in modern times was the canal of Languedoc, uniting the Atlantic and Mediterranean seas, and completed in 1681, in the reign of Louis XIV. 140 miles in length, 144 feet in breadth, and six feet deep.

The Holstein Canal, uniting the German Ocean with the Baltic, finished in 1785, although only fifty miles long, is remarkable on account of its depth,—not less than ten feet deep in any place, so that ships drawing above nine feet of water make use of it. Two to three thousand ships pass in a year.

No attempt to construct canals in Britain was made till the year 1755; and the first important work was

the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, from his coal mines to Manchester and Liverpool, begun in 1758, in which, with the assistance of the celebrated Brindley, the most formidable natural difficulties were overcome by means of tunnels and aqueducts.

The Duke of Bridgewater's success led to the execution of many similar undertakings in England and Scotland,—among others, to the Forth and Clyde Canal, of thirty-five miles,—and to the Caledonian Canal, which, though it cost above a million, on account of the difficulties encountered in connecting it with inland seas and lakes, is itself only twenty miles long. The entire length of canals in Britain and Ireland is now above 3000 miles. But what appears to be the most magnificent of the European Canals is the Ship Canal from Amsterdam to the Helder Point, which was admirably constructed about the same period with the Erie Canal, from the year 1819 to 1825. Its length is fifty miles. Its breadth at the surface of the water is 124 feet, and its depth twenty feet nine inches. It cost above a million Sterling. The time spent in tracking vessels from the Helder to Amsterdam is eighteen hours. One frigate passes another with ease. If we were to compute the magnitude of canals by the cubic contents of their beds, this is the greatest canal in the world, excepting always the Chinese. The volume of water which it contains, or the *prisme de remplissage*, is twice as great as that of the Erie Canal.

It may, therefore, well be questioned whether the Erie Canal, although undoubtedly greater than any

European canal, be a more stupendous national work than the Amsterdam Canal, or entitled to the very sweeping claim to superiority over the European canals claimed for it by its illustrious founder. It is, however, a most wonderful undertaking to have been set about by a state, the population of which, at the period of its commencement, did not amount to a million and a-half of inhabitants; and its effects on the commerce of a great continent, and as a source of immense wealth to the revenue of the State of New York, and an example to the other states of the Confederacy, can hardly be too highly appreciated.

We had intended to visit the neighbouring Falls of the Mohawk, called the Cohoes Fall, before we set out from Albany to Niagara; but the heat unfits us for exertion, and has induced us to proceed at once to Menai, on our journey to the Niagara Falls, 318 miles to the north-west of Albany.

We have found the Eagle Hotel at Albany very comfortable. The bed-rooms, however, are as meagrely furnished as at New York.

CHAPTER V.

Journey from Albany to Auburn, in the State of New York.—Stage to Schenectady—Passengers—Road—Dinner at Schenectady—Canal-Boat on Erie Canal from Schenectady to Utica—The Johnson Family on the Mohawk—Mrs Grant's Account of them—Of her own Travelling in this Country about 1760—Little Falls of the Mohawk River—Soil—Cultivation—Maple Sugar—Passengers in Canal-Packet—Election of President of United States—Coffee-House-Hotel at Utica—Tea and Supper—Situation of Utica—Trenton Falls.—Stage from Utica to Auburn—Appearance of the Country—Farm-Houses—Vernon—Onandaga—Tea and Supper at Auburn—Account of Rochester—Situation of Auburn—Newspapers—Mrs Grant's and Chateaubriand's Account of their Travelling in this Country at former periods.

From 30th August to 1st September.

THE number of locks on the first part of the Erie Canal is so great, that travellers generally prefer going by the stage to Schenectady, about fifteen miles distant from Albany. Accordingly, we took seats in the stage, and a huge coach of elliptical shape, hung low on strong leathern belts, and drawn by four horses, awaited us at the door of the hotel, on the morning of 30th August. The coach is somewhat wider than a six seated English stage-coach, and is much longer, so that there is sufficient space for a seat in the middle, and accom-

modation for nine inside passengers. The door is placed as in English coaches. The driver's seat is so low, that his head is pretty much on a level with the top of the coach. There is only room for one outside passenger, who sits on the same seat with the driver. The baggage is placed not very securely at the back of the coach, within leathern aprons, which are buckled or tied up with ropes or chains. The top of the coach is fixed on a frame, but the leathern curtains all around the carriage may be rolled up in fine weather, to afford air, and allow the country to be seen. The old-fashioned stages, of which some are even yet in use, contained four seats, the driver having his place on the front bench, and all the passengers entering in a very inconvenient way by the fore part of the carriage, and sitting with their faces to the front, which was open.

The stage had been sent to our hotel in the first place on the morning when we left Albany. We were afterwards driven about the town to pick up the remaining passengers, the practice being universal to call at the residences of the passengers, to receive them and their baggage. Having been told that the people of this country are very subject to sickness in the stages, and, on that account, anxious to sit with their faces to the front of the carriage, we took possession of the front, or foremost, nearest to the driver's seat, as being the least popular, with our faces to the back of the carriage. The Chancellor of the State was the first passenger, after we set out, for whom we called. He placed himself in the most distant seat, but gave it up to a family, con-

sisting of two ladies and children, whom we picked up at Cruttenden's, in the upper part of the town, which is the chief hotel at Albany. The ladies were from Providence, in Rhode Island, and on an excursion of pleasure to Niagara. There is no such thing as post-chaise travelling in any part of the United States. Journies are usually performed either in the four-horse stages, or in steam-boats; but on most of the roads of very great resort, extra stages may be obtained, which may be regulated, as the passengers incline, as to the time they are to be on the road. In general, however, the travelling of this country by land is performed in the regular stages, it being the ordinary custom of the country for all descriptions of persons to travel by the same conveyance, and, while travelling, to eat together. The present President of the United States, Mr Adams, whose private residence is near Boston, travels to Washington, the seat of the government, by steam-boat, and the regular stage.

People going short journies, of course, make use of their own carriages. The close carriage of Britain is rarely seen, but barouches and gigs are common; and small waggons, and dearborns, which are a light, four-wheeled carriage, on springs of wood, with a moveable seat, frequently covered on the top, are in general use.

The road on which we were driven to Schenectady was in many parts rough, and not well engineered, but wide; and there were rows of large Lombardy poplars on each side of a great part of it: The soil sandy, and by no means fertile; the orchards not productive; the

wood chiefly oak, cedar, and pine,—the greater part of pine. The driver stopped twice on the way to give water to his horses, on account, I presume, of the heat of the weather; and the ladies from Providence also got water for themselves and their children, always asking, before they tasted it, whether the water was good? The persons waiting at the doors of the hotels on the road,—for every the most trifling inn, or house of public entertainment, is styled a hotel,—very civilly handed tumblers of water to the passengers, without payment of any kind. The conversation of the passengers was far more unrestrained than it probably would have been with foreigners,—more especially the chief judge of the state, one of the party,—in an English stage-coach; nor did the judge presume in the slightest degree on his high official situation.

We reached Schenectady about twelve o'clock, and found the usual arrangement was, that the passengers should dine here, before embarking in one of the canal packets at two o'clock. The low land on the bank of the Mohawk, where Schenectady is situated, is good. The town contains a college, at which about 200 young men are educated: The whole population about 4000. The Mohawk Indians, who are now extinct, possessed the fine district of country in this neighbourhood, and to the westward, on the banks of the Mohawk.

The ringing of a bell summoned us to dinner about one o'clock, and about twenty people assembled, consisting of the ladies who had accompanied us, and the boarders. The system in all the country inns or hotels

is to have breakfast, dinner, and tea, at fixed hours, which are announced by the ringing of a hand-bell. At those hotels there are generally boarders, consisting of many of the merchants, and merchants' clerks, doctors, &c. in the place. Some of them only board; others board and lodge, at rates from two and a-half dollars to three and four dollars a week. Mechanics generally live in the same way, at houses somewhat of an inferior kind, at a lower rate,—a dollar and a-half to two dollars a-week. The innkeepers do not like to have the trouble of preparing separate meals, unless where absolutely necessary, and fix the hours of the meals, so as to suit the passengers in the stages as far as possible. Dinner was abundant, consisting of fish, roast-beef, boiled lamb, broiled chickens, potatoes, squash, beet-root, green cabbage unboiled, cut down like pickled red cabbage, in vinegar; apple-pye, pudding, cheese, melted butter, cold butter, pickled cucumbers. The table literally covered with dishes. Brandy was on the table: very little used. No wine, nor any liquid, but water. The waiters were men of colour. No payment was made to them, nor to the driver of the stage. Half a dollar for each person was the charge for dinner.

The canal passes the door of the hotel. We embarked in the packet at two P. M.; and, though it did not appear to us to be in all respects a desirable mode of conveyance, we had no reason to regret our preferring it to the stage for the first part of the journey, on account of the very interesting district through which

this part of the canal is carried. The accommodation for ladies, in respect to sleeping-places, is tolerably good; but that for gentlemen is not to be commended. The bridges over the canal are numerous, and so low, that passengers must leave the higher deck of the packet, where alone they can see the country, each time they pass them. We, therefore, very soon after leaving Schenectady, resolved again to betake ourselves to the stage as soon as we arrived at Utica, distant eighty miles from Schenectady. We had tea and supper on the day we embarked, and breakfast and dinner on the following one, before we reached Utica: Every thing good, and as plentiful, as at the hotels. Three horses drag the boat at the rate of about four miles an hour; but the locks occasion considerable detention; and at one of them we were, owing to some accident, detained for an unreasonable time, and did not arrive at Utica until the afternoon of the 31st August, twenty-six hours after we had left Schenectady. The country through which we passed has been long settled,—originally peopled by the Dutch—the present proprietors speaking both Dutch and English; farm-houses good, with orchards loaded with fruit, and every appearance of comfort and plenty. The outsides of many of the houses painted of different colours; white, green, mulberry brown. Great part of the canal is close to the river; and supported for a considerable space by a prodigious wall, twenty or thirty feet high. There are small hotels in many places on the sides of the canal, where fruit, liquors, &c. may be had; and various places, Rot-

terdam, Amsterdam, Frankfort, &c. well situated on the river. There is also Caughnawaga, a fine Indian name. Indeed all the Indian names are fine,—far preferable to the modern ones, viz. Niskayuna, Saratoga, Ticonderoga, Cayuga, Ontario, Onandago, Niagara, &c.

There are two large stone houses not far from Caughnawaga, formerly belonging to the Johnson family, who had great possessions here confiscated at the period of the revolution, in consequence of their adherence to the British, who gave them compensation by grants of land in Canada. The founder of this family is said to have acquired this fine tract of country by a piece of dexterous management. He traded extensively with the tribe of Mohawk Indians. Their chiefs were in the habit of applying to him frequently for tobacco and rum, which they had, they told him, dreamt that he was to give them. The Indians profess to place great faith in dreams; which Johnson never failed to encourage, —humouring their foible, by acceding to every request founded on them. Thus visits and dreams became frequent on the part of the Indians. Johnson never sent them away empty-handed. To every request he replied, " I will prove that you were right;" and presented them with whatever they applied for, on the footing that they had dreamt of it. At length the king had the conscience to dream that, if he was invested with Johnson's military dress of scarlet and gold, he should be as great a man as King George;— and King George he soon in so far became, for no long time elapsed before Johnson had him apparelled as he

wished. But Johnson's turn to dream had now arrived; for he had all the while attached the same weight to dreams. He dreamed, that the nation had, in consequence of his kindness to them, and in return for the hospitality he had shown them, bestowed on him part of their territory, which he described, and which he of course took care should be sufficiently extensive and valuable; in fact, one of the finest tracts of land that it is possible to conceive. "Have you really had such a dream?" (they exclaimed,) with terror and alarm depicted on their countenances. Being satisfied on this point; the chief, or king, convoked his tribe, who deliberated, and then announced to the dreamer that they had confirmed the dream. "Brother Johnson," (they said,) "we give thee that tract of land; but never dream any more." The head of this family, whether the Johnson who obtained this grant, or his descendant, I know not, was subsequently created a baronet, for his gallantry in action in the war, when the French made an incursion from Canada in 1755. Mrs Grant's representation of Sir William Johnson's intercourse with the Indians, and of his mode of life a few years subsequently to this period, is singular. "He had built two spacious places of residence,—Johnson Castle and Johnson Hall; the one on an eminence, fortified, and the other on a delightful plain on the river side. The Hall was his summer residence;—and here, where he made his greatest local improvements, he lived, like a little sovereign, keeping open table for strangers, officers, &c. His trade with the five Indian nations, then in his neigh-

bourhood, was extensive; and he treated them so fairly and honourably, that they placed unlimited confidence in him. When they returned from their summer excursions, and exchanged their furs for fire-arms, &c. they used to pass a few days at the Castle, while Sir William's family were at the Hall. There they were liberally entertained; and 500 of them have been known for nights together, after drinking freely, to be around him on the floor, while he was the only white person in a house containing great quantities of everything that was to them valuable or desirable." The ruins of Mohawk Castle are about thirty miles from Utica. Mrs Grant, then a very young woman, was one of the first females, above the lowest ranks, who penetrated so far into what was then (about 1760 or 1761) considered a remote wilderness. The second day of her journey from Albany with her father, a British officer, and her mother, they came to the residence of the "Sachem, or king of the Mohawks, whose castle stood on a rising ground, surrounded by pallisades. He resided at the time in a house which the public workmen, who had lately built Fort Henrick, so called after the name of the Sachem, had been ordered to erect for him in the vicinity. They waited upon his majesty, who, not chusing to depart too much from the customs of his ancestors, had not permitted divisions of apartments, or modern furniture, to profane his new dwelling. It had the appearance of a good barn, and was divided across by a mat hung in the middle. King Henrick, who had a princely figure, and a countenance that would

not have dishonoured royalty, was sitting on the floor beside a large heap of wheat, surrounded with baskets of dried berries of different kinds; beside him, his son, a very pretty boy, was caressing a foal, which was uncermoniously introduced into the royal residence. A laced hat, a fine saddle, and pistols, gifts of his good brother the great king, were hung round on the cross beams. He was splendidly arrayed in a coat of pale blue, trimmed with silver. All the rest of his dress was of the fashion of his own nation, and highly embellished with beads, and other ornaments. I was prepared to admire King Hendrick, by hearing him described as a generous warrior;—add to all this, that the monarch smiled, clapped my head, and ordered me a little basket, very pretty, and filled, by the officious kindness of his, with dried berries. Never did princely gifts, or the smile of royalty, produce more ardent admiration and profound gratitude."

There is a striking assemblage of romantic objects at the Little Falls of the Mohawk, about twenty-two miles from Utica, near which, at one place, the pass, between hills and through precipitous rocks of granite and limestone is so narrow, that a great deal of cutting and expensive operation has been necessary, in order to make room for the canal and road by the river side. The cataract itself is nowise remarkable, the descent being gradual over a rough rocky bed, and not unlike the Rapids at Killin, near the burying place of Macnab of Macnab, in Perthshire, in Scotland. The fall is occasioned by a chain of hills of no great elevation, which crosses the

Mohawk. There are good specimens of petrifaction in this neighbourhood, especially of wood of large size.

Above Little Falls, the canal passes through a plain of fine alluvial land, called the German Flatts, from its being originally peopled by German emigrants. Much of the land, from Schenectady to Utica, consists of good soil. Very little green crop is seen; some potatoe, but very little turnip. Wheat is cut in July; but part of the maize, which is sown in rows, and is a most valuable crop,—the great staple of American husbandry,—and of the oats, an indifferent crop, are still in the field. No hedges, and the fences generally of wood, strong substantial posts and rails, for which locust, cedar, and hickery are preferred. The number of farm-houses and cottages seemed to us as great as in well-cultivated districts in England.

We saw many fine maple trees, valuable for giving shade, with little injury to the growth of grass, and grain under them,—for their wood so beautifully marked for cabinet-makers,—for fuel, and chiefly, I believe, for giving sugar. The sugar has a peculiar flavour, which we thought unpleasant; but habit would, I doubt not, soon reconcile one to the use of it. The trees are tapped, two or three inches into the wood, with a view to obtaining the sap, from which the sugar is extracted, some time in February, or the beginning of March. The holes are made in a slanting direction, in which sprouts of elder or sumach, projecting from the tree, are placed. The holes are plugged as soon as the sap is drawn. The tree does not become impoverished by

repeated tappings. There are instances on the Hudson, where the process has been continued for fifty years. Maple trees never thrive but on good land.

The party in the canal packet consisted of the ladies and their family who had accompanied us from Albany; one of the agents of the canal; a store-keeper from New Jersey, and his sister; and one or two other gentlemen, besides passing travellers, and workmen, who were often with us only for a mile or two. The charge is, I believe, only three or four cents a mile. There are one hundred cents in a dollar; a cent is therefore of almost equal value with a halfpenny, supposing the dollar to be worth four shillings and threepence Sterling.

Although the passengers were in different ranks in life, as we should think, little or no distinction was observable among them in the perfect freedom with which they entered into conversation, or gave their opinion on any subject which was started. All spoke with equal ease, and seemed on a par. The canal works, and the beauties of the country, were of course pointed out to the strangers; but the engrossing subject is the election of the president of the United States, to be decided two months hence, which was the topic of warm but perfectly good-humoured discussion. The canal agent was as vigorous a partisan of Adams, as the storekeeper of Jackson; and we soon found that the opinions of the party were pretty equally divided. Some one said, that Jackson had merely distinguished himself as a soldier, and that it was now too late in life for him to acquire the habits necessary for the great situation to which he

aspired. My friend from New Jersey set us all to rights in this respect. Jackson was originally a lawyer, attorney-general for his state of Tenessee, and for many years member of Congress. A new light was also given us respecting the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. We were told that the court martial had been prevailed on, after the promulgation of their sentence, when they were entirely divested of the character of a court, to alter it, which they had no more right to do than any other men in the country; that Jackson had merely enforced the first sentence of death in both cases; but that, if he had even altered the sentence, it was no more than our commander-in-chief is every day in the habit of doing, when he is called to revise the sentences of courts martial. If we were to judge of the claims of the candidates from all that we have heard during the few days we have been in this country, we should incline to think that Jackson's popularity is mainly owing to his being considered the sterner, and more inflexible, republican of the two candidates. The family of Adams were from the beginning federalists. The name of Federalist is now extinct, but their principles remain, and are not without influence. The present president, Mr Adams, on one occasion, left his party; and it was for having done so that Mr Jefferson, then president, gave him office.

Nothing struck me more than the ease with which people of the lowest description, as we should view them from their appearance, entered at once into conversation, and delivered and enforced their sentiments.

The late Sir Isaac Broke was, by some accident, mentioned. The canal agent spoke of him in terms of great respect, as the best commander the British had ever sent to Canada,—equally regretted on both sides of the St Lawrence.

At Utica we landed at the canal coffee-house, and here, at landing for the first time in the United States, saw an intoxicated person, an Indian, standing by the side of the canal, hurraing for Jackson. Having dined in the packet, we were desirous to have tea immediately on our arrival, that we might make as much use of our time as possible, in walking out while day-light remained, but we found that our request could not be complied with, without transgressing the ordinary rules of the house. We might have gained our object by extra payment, but even in that case as a favour. We therefore sallied forth, returning in time for the tea and supper hour at six, when we joined thirty or forty people in a large and rather handsome room seated at table. Tea and coffee were handed about, and there was plenty of food of all kinds, broiled meat, bread and biscuit, and cake of various sorts, plum jam, &c. The boarders seemed to make as hearty a meal as the travellers.

Utica stands on the south bank of the Mohawk, and is altogether of recent erection, though the population is now 8000 or 9000. It is regularly built, and the streets wide, and many handsome houses and gardens. There are several hotels, one of them, Bagg's hotel, a very large house. Utica, being the point where many of the chief roads of the State unite, is a place of great

resort for stages, and has been increasing rapidly since the canal was completed. There are at present no less than five daily four-horse coaches from hence to Buffalo, on Lake Erie, 200 miles distant, on the way to Niagara; the fare six dollars and a-half, and no payment to coachmen. There is no guard. The stores here are very handsome, and there are several soda-water establishments.

The Trenton Falls,—a succession of falls of water, which travellers generally go to see, there being six *chutes*, and the wooden ravines and banks very romantic,—are about fourteen miles from Utica, on a creek which supplies the Mohawk; but as there was no intermission of the heat, we preferred proceeding onwards to Niagara in the stage. We had great difficulty in being ready at the hour for departure, the female servant having neglected to bring us a light in sufficient time. We found the stage partly filled before we prepared to take our seats,—half an hour before sunrise,—and did not reach Auburn until nearly sunset. A gentleman who had taken his seat in the back row, insisted on giving it up to my wife, so decidedly, as being her right, that she had no alternative, although it was a matter of indifference to her on which row she sat. In the same row with that gentleman was a poor woman, the widow of a labourer on one of the lakes, with a child, to whom the gentlemen, two of whom were persons of no small consideration in point of fortune, showed the same attention and wish to be of use, as

they could have done to any other female, whatever might be her rank in society.

The morning was very hot, but we had some welcome showers in the forenoon, after which the heat became much more tolerable, the road indifferent, and frequently not in the best line; but our charioteers drove pretty steadily at the rate of seven miles an hour. There were many wooden bridges over creeks,—the name given to small rivers in this country,—and the rapid driving of our cumbersome machine down the hills to those bridges was at first rather appalling; but the drivers got on so fearlessly, and at the same time seemed to have their horses so well in hand, that we very soon thought ourselves as safe as in an English stage coach. The drivers generally stopped to water their horses every four or five miles, often themselves drawing the water from the wells. Our route led us through a good country, diversified with hill and dale, and considerable hollows,—much excellent land, all cleared and settled within the last thirty or thirty-five years. We passed many thriving villages,—towns we should call most of them; New Hartford, Manchester, Vernon, Oneida, Lenox, Chitteningo, Manlius, Jamesville, Onandaga, Marcellus, and Skeneateles, adjoining a lake of the same name. The valley of Onandaga is exceedingly beautiful, and the town very neat and clean-looking, with a handsome opening and piece of fine sward in its centre. We were in the neighbourhood of two small settlements of Indians. In one place, the children of the Indians followed the stage a long way to

get a few cents from us. Every thing has a thriving appearance in this district—crops good—and we have also to-day seen many patches of buck-wheat. Farm-houses, generally with a portico, piazza, or balcony on one side, and a few locust trees or Lombardy poplars about the buildings, and in all cases large orchards at this season loaded with fruit. The gardens are universally of the most slovenly description, and full of weeds; notwithstanding which, and that the garden is often, as it appeared to us, cultivated with the spade or the plough, ordinary vegetables, as well as cucumbers and melons, seem abundant. Near the house, and sometimes in the orchards, is the burying-ground of the family, marked by the erection of a few grave-stones.

We breakfasted at Vernon, seventeen miles from Utica, this morning, and had even more than an abundant American breakfast set before us; after which the passengers made as free with the apples and plums in the hotel-keeper's garden, as if they had been their own. Onandaga is the usual place for dining on this journey; but a party of militia on duty there had, I presume, partaken of our dinner; for we were told that we must wait for some time. This we were unwilling to do; and, having got a lunch of cheese and bread, we delayed our chief meal until we reached the coffee-house hotel at Auburn. There tea and supper was prepared as soon as we arrived, with broiled chickens, potatoes, and the other *et ceteras*, preserved fruit, &c. most plentifully. The hostess sat at table. A hired female,—for in this part of the country the

word servant is hardly, as we are told, ever used,—attended the table, always sitting at the foot, when her services were not wanted to hand the tea-cups, bread, &c. No fermented liquor of any kind was called for by any of our fellow-travellers; but soon after tea they were, I observed, smoking cigars in the bar-room, and might there have any liquor they wanted. We were successful in finding a soda water fountain on our peregrinations in the village.

Among our fellow-travellers to-day is a gentleman of large property at Rochester, the most thriving of the villages on the Erie Canal, about eighty miles to the westward, situated on a considerable river, the Genessee, near Lake Ontario, and possessing immense water power. This gentleman told us, that the first child born at Rochester, after the settlement of the place, was a son of his, eighteen years ago. The place only contained 1000 inhabitants in 1818, and now about 13,000. There are cotton-works, power-looms, woollen factories, eleven flouring-mills, and six or seven churches. Large fortunes have been made by the purchase and sale of building-lots.

Auburn itself is situated on the outlet of the Oswesco Lake, conveniently for manufactures, and is a thriving place, with a population of about 4000. It might have been the Auburn of Goldsmith, but for its numerous manufacturing establishments, and for its being the situation of one of the two great state-prisons of the State of New York. There are printing-offices, and various newspapers here, as at all the villages; one of

the papers devoted entirely to religious discussion and intelligence. There are several hotels; one of them, a splendid-looking house, contains about 200 beds. The house seems well regulated. The hostess invited my wife to her parlour, where there is a good collection of books, including many of Sir Walter Scott's works, which we find even more frequently than Mr Cooper's novels, wherever we go in this country.

Nowhere in this country has there been a more complete change since the revolution, than in that part of it where we are now travelling, in point of general improvement of population, and the comforts of living and travelling. Mrs Grant, who travelled as far as Utica, then called Fort Schuyler, nearly seventy years ago, and Chateaubriand, who passed through this part of the State on his way to Niagara in 1791, are good authorities at different periods.

In Mrs Grant's time, roads there were none. The party proceeded up the river Mohawk in batteaux. The first night they spent with the King of the Mohawks, who allowed no division of apartments in his palace; and where any of the forts were in the neighbourhood they slept in them, but at other times they encamped at night on the bank of the river. "This, (she writes) in a land of profound solitude, where wolves, foxes, and bears abounded, and were very much inclined to consider and treat us as intruders, might seem dismal to wiser folks; but I was so gratified by the bustle and agitation produced by our measures of defence, and actuated by the love which all

children have for mischief that is not fatal, that I enjoyed our night's encampment exceedingly. We stopped early wherever we saw the largest and most combustible kind of trees. Cedars were great favourites: and the first work was to fell and pile upon each other an incredible number, stretched lengthways, while every one who could was busied in gathering withered branches of pine, &c. to fill up the interstices of the pile, and make the green wood burn the faster. Then a train of gunpowder was laid along to give fire to the whole fabric at once, which blazed and crackled magnificently. Then the tents were erected close in a row before this grand conflagration. This was not merely meant to keep us warm, but to frighten wild beasts and wandering Indians. In one place, where we were surrounded by hills, with swamps lying between them, there seemed to be a general congress of wolves, who answered each other from opposite hills, in sounds the most terrific."

Chateaubriand's description of the difficulties he had to encounter thirty years afterwards, is not less interesting. He set out from Albany on horseback, having bought a couple of horses, and procured a Dutchman as a guide. "When I found myself, (he writes,) after passing the Mohawk, in woods, which had never been subject to the axe, I fell into a sort of intoxication. I went from tree to tree, to the right and the left indiscriminately, saying to myself, 'Here are no more roads to follow,—no more towns,—no more close houses,—no more presidents, republics, or kings; and, to try whether

I was at length reinstated in my original rights, I indulged in a thousand whimsical acts, which enraged the tall Dutchman, who officiated as my guide.'

" Our horses (near Onandaga) needed rest. I sought with my Dutchman a spot suitable for our encampment. We found one in a dell, at a place where a river rushes impetuously from the lake. It was in the bend of the river that we prepared our lodging for the night. We planted two tall poles in the ground, and laid a third horizontally across their forks; pieces of birch bark, one end resting upon the earth, and the other against the transverse pole, formed a roof worthy of our palace. A fire was kindled to cook our supper, and to drive away the musquitoes. Our saddles served for pillows, and our mantles for bed-clothes. We fastened bells to the necks of our horses, and turned them loose in the woods. By an admirable instinct, those animals never wander so far as to lose sight of the fire, which their masters kindle at night to drive away insects, and to defend themselves from serpents."

Again, " The new settlements exhibited a curious mixture of the state of nature, and the civilized condition. In the corner of a forest, which had never rung but with the shouts of the savage, and the braying of the fallow-deer, you met with cultivated lands: You perceived, from the same point of view, the hut of an Indian, and the habitation of a planter. Some of these habitations already completed reminded you, by their neatness, of English or Dutch farm-houses; while others were but half-finished, and had no other roof than the dome of a spreading tree.

"In the best situations, villages were erecting. It is impossible to conceive the feelings and the delight experienced on seeing the spire of a new steeple rising from the bosom of an ancient American forest. As English manners stick to the English, wherever they are, so, after traversing countries, where there were no traces of inhabitants, I perceived the sign of an inn dangling from the branch of a tree by the road-side, and swinging to and fro in the wind of the desert. Hunters, planters, Indians, met at these caravanseras; but the first time I slept in one of them, I vowed it should be the last.

"One evening, on entering one of these singular inns, I was astounded at the sight of an immense bed constructed in a circular form round a post. Each traveller came and took his place in this bed, with his feet to the post in the centre, and his head at the circumference of the circle, so that the sleepers were ranged symmetrically, like the spokes of a wheel, or the sticks of a fan. After some hesitation, I took my place in this singular machine, because I saw nobody in it. I was just dropping asleep, when I felt a man's leg rubbing along mine; it was my great devil of a Dutchman's, who was stretching himself beside me. I never was so horrified in my life. I leapt out of this hospitable contrivance,—cordially execrating the good old customs of our good old ancestors, and went and lay down in my cloak in the moonshine. This companion of the traveller's couch was nothing less than agreeable, cool, and pure."

CHAPTER VI.

The State Prison at Auburn—System of Regulation—Description of Prison—Government—Security—Economy—Former System of Solitary Confinement—Its Effects—Details of Present System—Rations for each Man—Gains of Convicts—Their Health—Report of the Commissioners for visiting Prisons—Progress of the System in 1829 and 1830—Continued Profit to the State—Conduct of the Prisoners during a fire at the Prison—Report of this Prison from Managers of Prison Discipline Society at Boston—Letter from the Chaplain to Auburn Prison—Anecdotes of Pere Joussony, and of Bishop of Litchfield—Efficient and well-paid Officers—Salaries—Prison at Sing Sing, and other places in the United States—Want of such Prisons in Britain—Mr Vaughan, the British Ambassador's, opinion of Auburn Prison—Importance of Subject to Britain—Auburn System embraces that of Howard, and the Philanthropists—Maison de Force at Ghent—Mr Western's Views—Punishment of Stripes in the Prison—Financial results of the System in England—Imprisonment should always be viewed with aversion—Edinburgh Scotsman Newspaper.

2d September 1828.

We have spent this morning in visiting and inspecting the State-Prison here. Although not many years erected, it is already celebrated, as establishing, that, by the suitable construction of buildings, and the enforcing a system of strict regulations, solitude and labour can be so united, that the evils attending idle solitary confinement may be avoided; and that criminals may

be made, not only to support themselves well, so that their health shall not suffer, while enduring the sentence of the law, but to defray all the necessary expences of agent, keeper and guard, physician and chaplain, and, at the same time, be constantly employed, and subjected to a rigid course of moral and reformatory discipline.

We found no difficulty in getting admission; a fee of 25 cents is paid by each person, and accounted for, as part of the funds of the prison. One of the assistant-keepers was directed to conduct us through the prison, and to give us such information as we required.

A space of ground, 500 feet square, is inclosed by a very lofty external wall, 35 feet high within. The great building of the prison, about 100 feet from these walls, is three-sided; the front 276 feet long, and 45 feet deep, and the sides 242 by 45. It contains the keeper's house, and necessary offices,—the eating-hall, hospital, chapel, kitchens, and wash-rooms, and the cells, which are 7 feet long, 3½ wide, and 7 feet high. The windows in each, 4 feet by 6, are glazed, and secured by a strong iron-grating. The only opening from the cell, except the ventilator, is the door, in the upper end of which is an iron-grate, 18 by 20 inches. The bars of this grate are round iron, three-fourths of an inch in diameter, placed about 2 inches asunder, leaving orifices smaller than a man's hand. Through this grate, all the light, heat, and air, are admitted to the cells. The ventilator, which is about three inches in diameter, extends from the back of the cell to the roof of the

building. The door of the cell, of which the grate is a part, closes on the inner edge of the wall, two feet deep. This recess in front of each door, increases the difficulty of conversation and communication between the prisoners,—prevents them from seeing into the galleries,—and furnishes a convenient place for an officer of the prison to converse with the prisoner, without being seen or heard by those in the adjoining cells. The area round the cells, which is ten feet wide, is open from the ground to the roof, in front of five stories of cells. Of this area, three feet adjoining the cells are occupied by the galleries.

The advantages of this description of building, are its security and economy.

The security is obvious. The prisoner must first escape from his cell; then avoid the sentinel in the open area; then force the external wall; and after all, he is only in the yard, the wall of which is 30 feet high. No escape has hitherto taken place from this prison.

The economy is great in respect to the space occupied, and in heating, lighting, and guarding. Twelve small stoves, and twelve small lamps, placed in the open area in front of the cells, afford heat and light for 555 cells; and one sentinel is found sufficient to guard the prisoners, The space in front of the cells is a perfect sounding gallery, so that a sentinel in the open area on the ground can hear a whisper from a distant cell in the upper story.

The shops, or working-rooms, are almost all attached to the outer wall of the prison,—that wall being the

outer wall of the shops. They are, when completed, to be about 1600 feet long, 26 feet wide, and 7 feet high on the side towards the yard, and 16 feet on the external wall. The side of the shops on the yard is lighted by a row of windows 4 feet by 3 feet 4 inches, and 2 feet 7 inches asunder. There is also a row of windows in the roof of the shops, consisting of an unbroken line of 7 by 9. In the rear of all the shops is an avenue or passway, made sufficiently light by numerous small openings cut in the partition, which enables the keepers to inspect the convicts without their knowledge, and also for visitors to pass through without going into the shops.

All the filth is swept through a grated passage beneath the external wall, into the creek or river of Oswesco, which runs at the foot of it. There are two reservoirs of water for bathing in the prison yard, one fifteen feet by forty-three, and the other eighteen feet in diameter.

The prison is governed by a board of inspectors, residing in the village, who are appointed every two years by the Governor and Senators of New York State, and who make such regulations as they think necessary, and appoint the keeper, deputy-keeper, physician, chaplain, and all the subordinate officers.

At the period when the prison was erected, the legislature of the state, and the public, had become so dissatisfied with the mode of penitentiary punishment without solitary confinement then existing, which seemed rather to harden than to have any tendency to re-

form the delinquents, that it was generally believed, that, unless a severe system was adopted, the old sanguinary criminal code must be restored. In the State of New York, and in other of the most populous states, it should be noticed, that no crimes are punished with death, excepting murder and fire-raising; and that in all the states of the Confederacy, transportation beyond seas is a mode of punishment unknown. The legislature of New York State, therefore, in the year 1821, directed a selection of the oldest and most heinous offenders to be made, who should be confined constantly in solitary cells. Eighty convicts were accordingly put into solitary cells on 25th December 1821. Five of those convicts died during the year preceding January 1823, while only five died out of 140 convicts confined at the same time in prison, but who were kept to labour. The health of the solitary convicts was very soon seriously impaired. Some of them became insane; and the effect of this constant imprisonment was not more favourable to reformation than to mental and bodily health.

Before the end of 1823, exclusive solitary confinement was entirely discontinued, and the present successful system, combining solitude and silence with labour, introduced; a majority of the commissioners, who examined the prison, having reported, that they were entirely averse to solitary confinement without labour, on the grounds of health, expence, reformation, and unnecessary severity. La Fayette, when he was lately in the United States, and heard of the experiment

of exclusive solitary confinement, said it was just a revival of the practice in the Bastile, which had so dreadful an effect on the poor prisoners. "I repaired," he said, "to the scene on the second day of the demolition, and found, that all the prisoners had been deranged by their solitary confinement, except one; he had been a prisoner twenty-five years, and was led forth during the height of the tumultuous riot of the people whilst engaged in tearing down the building. He looked around with amazement, for he had seen nobody for that space of time; and before night he was so much affected, that he became a confirmed maniac, from which situation he never recovered."

The details of the management of the prison must be accurately made known, in order thoroughly to understand the system now acted on.

When convicts arrive, they have their irons taken off, are thoroughly cleaned, and clad in the prison dress. The rules of the prison are explained to them, and they are instructed by the keeper in their duties,—to obey orders, and to labour diligently in silence,—to approach all the officers of the institution, when it is necessary for them to speak, with respectful language, and never to speak without necessity, even to the keepers; never to speak to each other under any pretence; nor to sing, dance, or do any thing having the least tendency to disturb the prison; never to leave the places assigned to them without permission; never to speak to any person who does not belong to the prison, nor to look off from their work to see any one; never to work

carelessly, or be idle a single moment. They are also told, that they will not be allowed to receive letters, or intelligence from, or concerning, their friends, or any information on any subject out of the prison. Any correspondence of this kind, that may be necessary, must be carried on through the keeper, or assistant keepers. A Bible is, by order of the state, put into each cell. The bodies of all criminals, who die in the state prisons, are, by order of the legislature, delivered to the College of Physicians when they are not claimed by their relations within twenty-four hours after their death. The state prisons being in the country,—at a distance generally, it must be presumed, from the residence of the relations,—such a claim can, it is obvious, be but rarely made.

For all infraction of the regulations, or of duty, the convicts are instantly punished by stripes inflicted by the keeper, or assistant keepers, with a raw hide whip; or in aggravated cases, under the direction of the keeper, or his deputy alone, by a cat made of six strans of small twine, applied to the bare back alone. Conviction follows offences so certainly, and instantaneously, that they rarely occur; sometimes not once in three months.

At the end of fifteen minutes after the ringing of a bell in the morning, the assistant keepers unlock the convicts, who march out in military order in single files to their work-shops, where they wash their faces and hands in vessels prepared in the shops.

New convicts are put to work at such trade as they

may have previously learned, provided it be practicable; if not, or if they have no trade, the keeper selects such trade as appears, on inquiry, best suited to them. The hours of labour vary according to the season. In long days, from half-past 5 A. M. to 6 P. M. In short days, the hours are so fixed as to embrace all the daylight.

At the signal for breakfast, the convicts again form in line in the shops, and are marched by the assistant keepers to the mess-room, which they enter at two different doors, face around by their plates, standing till all have got their places, when a bell is rung, and all sit down to their meals: but, as some eat more, and some less, waiters, provided with large vessels, pass along constantly between the tables, taking food from those who raise their right hand in token that they have it to spare, and giving to those who raise their left hand to signify they want more. The tables are narrow; and the convicts, sitting on one side only, are placed face to back, and never face to face, so as to avoid exchanging looks or signs.

When the steward perceives that the convicts have done eating, or have had sufficient time for it,—generally from twenty minutes to half an hour,—he rings the bell, when all rise and march to their work-shops, those going out first who came in last. Twelve o'clock is the hour of dinner. The proceedings the same as at breakfast. Before quitting labour, the convicts wash their faces and hands,—form line, according to the number of their cells,—and proceed, in reversed order from

that of coming out in the morning, to the wash-room, where, without breaking their step, they stoop, and take up their supper vessels and water cans, and march to their galleries, enter their cells, and pull their doors to. Each gallery is occupied by one company, which is marched and locked up by one assistant-keeper.

Assistant-keepers are constantly moving around the galleries, having socks on their feet, that they may walk without noise, so that each convict does not know but that one of the keepers may be at the very door of his cell, ready to discover and report next morning for punishment the slightest breach of silence or order. The house, containing between 500 and 600 convicts, is thus perfectly still. The convicts are required, by the ringing of a bell, to go to bed upon their framed flat canvass hammocks, with blankets, and are neither permitted to lie down nor to get up without a signal. After the convicts are rung down at night, all the locks are again tried by the assistant-keepers.

On Sundays the arrangement is the same, with this difference, that, instead of working, the convicts are marched to the chapel, where divine service is performed by the chaplain. Such of them as are ignorant attend the Sunday school, which is admirably taught, and gratuitously, by students belonging to the theological seminary at Auburn. The keeper and assistant-keepers must be present at divine service, and at the teaching in the Sunday school.

The rations for each man per day are, 10 oz. pork, or 16 oz. beef; 10 oz. wheat flour, the wheat to be

ground fine, and not bolted; 12 oz. Indian meal; ½ gill molasses,—a ration. And 2 qts. rye; 4 qts. salt; 4 qts. vinegar; 1½ oz. pepper; 2½ bushels potatoes,—each 100 rations.

From these provisions the convicts are supplied in the morning with cold meat, bread, a slice of cold hominy, (a preparation of Indian corn,) hot potatoes, and a pint of hot rye coffee, sweetened with molasses. For dinner, they have meat soup made from the broth, thickened with Indian meal, bread, hot potatoes, and cold water for drink. And for supper, a portion of mush, (porridge made of Indian meal,) and cold water. This quantity of food for each man is considered to be indispensably necessary when the labour is hard and constant, and not more than sufficient to enable the convicts to perform it, and to remain in the enjoyment of health. Labour, only interrupted by the time necessary for meals, is required from the convicts for eleven hours per day, where there is enough of daylight.

The agent makes contracts for the labour of the convicts, with persons furnishing materials, so that all risk of loss is avoided, and much private capital and enterprize are brought into action. Strict rules are enforced, preventing a contractor from speaking to a convict. His wishes must be expressed to one of the keepers.

There must be at least one assistant-keeper in each mechanic department, who is master of the business pursued in it, to instruct new convicts, and see that the whole

make first-rate work. The instruction is chiefly given by showing, and not by verbal direction.

The convicts are so arranged in the shops as not to face each other, and have their work entirely separate. A shop and business of a hundred are so managed, that hours frequently pass without a word being spoken. Spectators are taken through the inspection avenues in the rear, which surround all the shops, where they have a full view of the convicts without being seen. They are not allowed to speak so loud as to be heard by them. There are separate shops for carpenters, masons, coopers, tool-makers, shoemakers, tailors, weavers, blacksmiths, machinists, gunsmiths, chair-makers, cabinet-makers, aud basket-makers. We saw some cabinet work beautifully finished. Indeed, all the work seemed to us well arranged, and systematically carried on. Carriage-making, polishing stone, and comb-making, have been begun during the year 1828.

The gains of the convicts during the last year averaged 29 cents, or 1s. 2½d. Sterling per day, some of them earning as much as 50 cents, and others not more than 15 cents per day. The amount was sufficient to defray the annual expence, including the whole salaries of the keepers, and other officers, the guard, and all the other officers. The inspectors and keepers have no doubt that the earnings will increase in subsequent years,—many of the workmen who are under sentences of long confinement having, from practice, become much more perfect in their trades and occupations. The convicts are never, on any pretext whatever, permitted

to work on their own account, nor to receive any food, except the prison fare. Neither fermented liquor of any kind, nor tobacco, are allowed to be brought within the precincts of the prison. Nothing is bought or sold within the prison walls, so far as the prisoners are in any way concerned, except their labour.

The regulations for the officers of the prison, for preserving it and the cells quite clean, and respecting the dress, cleanliness, and health of the convicts, are extremely minute, and well judged, and seem to be strictly enforced. A very well-informed person, one of the assistant-keepers, accompanied us through every part of the prison, except the work-shops, which we saw from without, unseen by the inmates. It is, I have no doubt, truly observed in one of the recent publications on the subject of this prison, that "the whole establishment, from the gate to the sewer, is a specimen of neatness, and that the unremitted industry, the entire subordination, and subdued feeling of the convicts, have probably no parallel among an equal number of criminals."

The degree of health which has prevailed ever since the introduction of the present system, probably surpasses any thing ever known of an equal number of convicts,—between 500 and 600; the number of patients confined to the hospital being about one per cent. and the number of deaths one and a-half.

No convict has been discharged since the present system was commenced who has not, previous to his liberation, communicated details of his previous history,

—how he was brought up,—what instructions he enjoyed,—his employment,—his residence,—his general habits, &c. and also information respecting his confinement, how he considers himself to have been treated, &c. A very curious body of facts will in this way be obtained, especially as means are taken to procure, as far as it can be done, a knowledge of particulars respecting the after lives of the convicts. Of 160 convicts discharged from Auburn, of whom accurate accounts have been obtained, 112 have turned out decidedly steady and industrious, and only twenty-six decidedly bad. It is generally admitted by the convicts, that, being deprived of all intelligence of their friends—of the affairs of the world—and of all means of intercourse and conversation with each other,—occasions them more suffering, and tends more to humble them, than every thing else,—that they are necessarily driven to reflection in their solitary cells, and through all the unvarying routine of their labour and rest. They allow, that the desire to converse is so great, and the temptation to it so strong, that they will risk the hazard of speaking to each other whenever there is any probable chance of escaping detection, but that the vigilance of the keepers is such, that they are never able to carry on a connected discourse. It is not an uncommon thing for a convict when discharged to state, that he did not know the names of his fellow convicts, who had for months worked by his side, and who had lodged in adjoining cells.

An excellent summary of the advantages of the management of this prison is to be found in a report from

commissioners appointed by the legislature of New York to visit the prisons at New York and Auburn, which contains this passage:—"The Auburn prison, combining the construction of the prison with the discipline enforced in it, presents the following advantages:—That the sentence of the law can be enforced with almost absolute certainty, since escapes must be nearly impossible, and conspiracy quite so, and an attempt at insurrection therefore hopeless; consequently, that the prison is governed with great comparative safety to the lives both of the keepers and prisoners, which, in case of insurrection, are necessarily in danger. The separate cells by night, and the silence preserved, always entirely prevent all contamination among the prisoners; thus at once is excluded the great question of the classification of convicts, which has so much engaged the attention of benevolent men in Europe and America. By this system, every prisoner forms a class by himself; and to all moral and social purposes he is insulated. The novice in crime may work for years by the side of the most expert felon, without making any progress in the mysteries of criminality. The prisoners are compelled to work diligently and profitably, and are deterred from spoiling their work; and we may add, as an important feature of this system, that, if any human means can, as it were, enforce repentance and amendment, it is this. The entire separation from all criminal associates,—the sobriety of feelings consequent upon temperance and labour,—and, most of all, the sadness of solitude, must frequently make serious im-

pressions. We have seen manifest proofs of such impressions among the prisoners, and only wish there were reason to expect they would be permanent."

During my stay in the United States in 1829 and 1830, I was at pains to obtain information respecting the progress of the system of management, which has been described, of the Auburn prison. It has continued to be perfectly successful in all respects, especially in the financial department, the amount received for the earnings of the convicts having in both years greatly exceeded the whole expences of the prison. There were 570 inmates in the prison at the close of 1828. The whole expences for the preceding year were 33,571 dollars,—the earnings 36,908 dollars,—making the profit to the state 3336 dollars.

The discipline of the institution, to secure such a result, must be supposed good; but a single fact will place it in a stronger light. On the night of the 23d October 1828, an alarming fire broke out in a paint-shop in the prison, connected with a wood shed. The fire spread with great rapidity, and very soon communicated with the windows of the building in which the convicts were locked up, and before any progress could be made in arresting it, the flames burnt through the windows, and threatened the convicts in their night cells with suffocation. The keepers, at the hazard of their lives, rushed through fire and smoke, and succeeded in unlocking every door, and discharged into the yard, at midnight, 550 convicts. Two avenues had now been opened to the street, through either of which

the convicts might have escaped in the confusion of passing water, and the passing and repassing of citizens. Instead, however, of attempting to escape, they formed the most efficient fire company, having extinguished the flames, and when this was done, were found in their places, no one having attempted to escape.

The evidence of the discipline being reformatory, continued to be equally satisfactory. Intelligenee had been received concerning 206 discharged convicts, of whom 146 are reformed. Concerning many of these 146 persons information had been received, three years in succession, giving them the same character. The first year of this system of inquiry favourable returns were received concerning 52,—the second year concerning 112,—and the third year concerning 146. The recommitments in 1827, out of 427, were 19. In 1829, out of 570, only 17.

During the year 1829 the expences were 34,070 dollars,—the earnings of the convicts 39,933 dollars,—making the profit to the state 5862 dollars. The deaths less than one in one hundred,—about the same as in the most favoured country villages in the State of New York, or in New England.

The managers of the Prison Discipline Society of Boston, who have done, and are doing, great good, in making the Auburn system known over the American continent, have, in their Report for 1830, published a very satisfactory letter, dated 20th May 1830, from Mr Smith, chaplain to the Auburn prison, and who formerly had been superintendent of the Sabbath school of

that prison, and had, of course, become thoroughly acquainted with the prison system and its inmates, from which what follow are extracts:

"I have now spent two years among the convicts in this prison. I review the period with deep emotion. I think it has been the most useful, certainly the happiest, portion of my life. They who have asked me, 'How can you immure yourself in so dreary a place, and among such a class of men?' have yet to learn what is the richest luxury that a benevolent heart can enjoy. If left to my choice, no earthly consideration would tempt me to leave this for any other field of labour on earth.

"The ordinary religious services have been regularly performed. To the preaching on the Sabbath the convicts have uniformly listened with fixed attention, and often with deep and overwhelming emotion. The services are always characterized by perfect order, and apparent solemnity. It has been the common remark of casual visitors, as well as others, that they never witnessed an equal degree of attention, and apparent seriousness and interest, in any other congregation.

"From the chapel I have followed them in the afternoon to their solitary cells, and there, in the best possible circumstances for producing effect, have pressed home upon their consciences, individually, the truths which they had heard in the public assembly, in such manner, as I conceived to be best adapted to their different capacities and states of feeling. In these visits I have often witnessed the power of truth, in making the

stoutest heart, the heart that could be approached in no other circumstances, tremble. Nothing is more common than to hear them express their surprise, that they never thought of these things before, and their gratitude that they have been arrested, and brought into a place where they are taught them, and where they cannot but think of them. In this labour I have been assisted by the use of tracts, which the keeper has kindly given me permission to put into their hands on the Sabbath, and which, by a suitable selection and adaptation to particular cases, have not unfrequently proved to be efficient co-workers in producing and strengthening salutary impressions upon their minds.

"The Sabbath school still holds a prominent place in our system of instruction, and claims our highest regard. Its number has been gradually increased, till it now contains about 160 pupils, in thirty-one classes, which are under the care of thirty-two theological students as teachers, one of whom takes the immediate oversight of the whole. I scarcely know which most to admire,—the devotedness of the teachers, or the ardour and industry of the scholars. The liveliest interest is manifested by both. A mutual and strong attachment springs up between them. The teachers seem willing to forego any other privilege for the sake of meeting and instructing their pupils; and, among the scholars, generally, no other punishment is more dreaded than exclusion from the school. It has been interesting to me to observe, upon the discharge of these scholars

from prison, how often the first inquiry has been, where they might find their teacher?

"In all my intercourse with the convicts, I have met with nothing but respectful and affectionate treatment. No one, in his right mind, has ever manifested towards me the least disrespect or unkindness."

Mr Smith will, no doubt, be viewed as an enthusiast by those who think lightly of the labours of such persons as Howard, Buxton, and Mrs Fry; but the man who publishes to the world, that he considers that period of his life to be the happiest which he has spent among the convicts in the prison of Auburn, is not likely to be deterred by sneering remarks, from persevering in his course of usefulness. Instances are not wanting of individuals, who, like Mr Smith, prefer the feeling arising from the consciousness of doing good to their fellow-creatures to all earthly considerations, and who would rather immure themselves within the walls of a prison, when they are satisfied that their exertions are crowned with success, than accept any other situation, however desirable in all respects. Many years have not elapsed since a committee of the House of Commons on prison discipline made known the interesting anecdote of the excellent Père Joussony, who, being sent by the French consul at Algiers to minister to the slaves, fixed his residence in their prison, and, during a period of thirty years, never quitted his post. Being compelled to repair to France for a short period, he returned again to the prison, and at length resigned his breath in the midst of those for whose interests he had

laboured, and who were dearer to him than life. The conduct of the present Bishop of Litchfield, Dr Ryder, looking to his rank by birth and station, and the influence it generally exercises, in visiting jails, and concerning himself about the welfare of the prisoners, is not much less remarkable, and is an example to all ranks of the clergy.

Efficient and well-paid officers are indispensably necessary for maintaining such a system of management, vigilant superintendence and discipline, as that which exists at Auburn. The salary of the agent and keeper, who finds security to the amount of 25,000 dollars, is 2500 dollars. Each of the assistant-keepers has 450 dollars a-year.

The system introduced at Auburn is making rapid progress in the United States. The State of New York has erected a state-prison, with 1000 cells, at Sing Sing, on the Hudson River, about thirty miles from New York; and the states of Massachussetts, Connecticut, Vermont, Maryland, and Kentucky, have adopted, generally, the Auburn plan; the State of Connecticut with peculiar success, so far as respects the revenue of the prison,—the proceeds of labour in the new prison at Wethersfield in Connecticut having in 1829, on an average number of 150 prisoners, exceeded the whole expence of the prison in the sum of 5068 dollars. In some of the old prisons, where it is impossible to confine in solitary cells, the system of constant labour has been successfully and profitably established.

No attempt to regulate any of the prisons in this

country according to the Auburn plan has, so far as I have learned, been made. This appears the more extraordinary; because it is stated, in the printed report of the agent of the Auburn prison for 1827, that the British minister at Washington, Mr Vaughan, after a critical examination of the institution, declared in ardent language that he hoped in God it would be made the model of imitation not only for this country, but for all Europe. And he of course would not fail to make his opinion, and the results on which it was founded, known in the proper quarter.

Great Britain ought, of all countries on the face of the earth, to be the most grateful to the State of New York for having set such an example before us; for in what country are there so many convicts in reference to the population,—where are they maintained at so great expence to the state,—and where has so little yet been done towards accomplishing the great end of punishment,—the diminution of offences by the terror of punishment,—or in promoting the reformation of the offenders.

1. The number of committals in England alone is from 16,000 to 18,000 a-year; more than double the number of committals in France, in reference to the population. The number of committals in Ireland is about 14,000 a-year. The number of committals in England and Wales is nearly equal to the number in the whole of the rest of Europe.

2. The expence of convicts to this country is enormous. Our settlement in New South Wales has cost

us many millions. The present annual expenditure is between L. 200,000 and L. 300,000 per annum. The average expence of sending a convict to Botany Bay is in round numbers L. 20; and the annual average expence of maintaining him after his arrival is L. 12. The expence of maintaining convicts in the prisons of England is great beyond belief. The average annual expence of each convict, in eleven of the greatest prisons, is L. 38, 7s. 2d. The only other way of disposing of convicts is in the Hulks in England or in Bermuda;—the greatest nurseries of crime in the world; and there, by keeping the convicts at hard labour, their average annual expence was reduced, in the six years ending with 1829, to L. 8, 14s. 6d. per man.

3. The first object of punishment, to prevent the repetition of the crime, as well as the second, to promote the reformation of the criminal, are entirely lost sight of, whether the criminal be sent to New South Wales, confined in prison, or in the hulks. The great majority of persons sent to Botany Bay consider their situation improved, and very generally thank the judges for pronouncing sentence of transportation. Instances not unfrequently occur where criminals commit the offences with which they are charged in order that they may be transported. So much for the effect of the sentence of transportation in diminishing offences by the terror of punishment; and as to the reformation of the offenders, all hope of it is at an end by their removal to this colony, than which there is no more wicked place any where in the world,—a congregation

of felons, where the thief on his arrival finds no one to associate with but his companions in vice. The same results pretty nearly follow from imprisonment in the jails of this country, and in the hulks, where no effectual check is given to persons of different classes mixing together,—where their conversation is unrestrained,—where they very generally have better food than before their committal,—and the young and inexperienced offender on his entering the prison becomes hardened, and fit to commit crimes of the deepest dye before he leaves it. Our prisons, instead of promoting the reformation of criminals, are undeniably schools of vice.

The Auburn system embraces all the objects which Howard and the philanthropists of this and the last century have been endeavouring to attain. In the Maison de Force at Ghent, which both Howard and Buxton visited at different periods, thirty-four years apart, and which both of them eulogize, the same management in respect to solitary cells, silence, and labour, prevailed as at Auburn, and was attended with excellent effects; but the convicts were allowed a certain portion of their earnings, and the system was not adhered to with the exactness, precision, and regularity which are indispensably necessary, so that at one period the earnings of the prisoners were much reduced in amount, and there was great laxity of discipline. Mr Western, one of the magistrates of the county of Essex, and one of the representatives of that county in Parliament, a gentleman whose benevolent

and patriotic views are well known, has, in a pamphlet on prison-discipline, which he published a few years ago, suggested the following plan, the details of which he has well explained: "Solitary confinement, marching and remarching to the cells, as practised at Auburn; hard labour for eight instead of eleven hours, as at Auburn, but without restriction as to conversation, and with liberty for airing and exercise for three hours." And he asks, "If each successive day was spent in this manner, can it be doubted that the frequent commission of crime would be checked, and more done to deter, correct, and reform, than could be accomplished by any other punishment? A period of such discipline, longer or shorter, according to the nature of the offence, would surely be sufficient for any violation of the law short of murder, or that description of outrage which is likely to lead to the perpetration of it. This sort of treatment is not to be overcome: it cannot be braved, or laughed at, or disregarded by any force of animal spirits, however strong or vigorous of mind or body the individual may be. The dull, unvarying course of hard labour, with hard fare and seclusion, must in time become so painfully irksome, and so wear and distress him, that he will, inevitably, in the end be subdued." If Mr Western's plan would be attended with the effects he describes, "to deter, correct, and reform," how much more certainly would those consequences attend that followed at Auburn, where the offenders suffer the penalty of total exclusion from society, deprived of all knowledge

of their friends and relations, and of their associates, even if confined in the same prison with them; are doomed to constant hard labour, their earnings altogether applied for the benefit of the state; subjected to stripes, inflicted summarily and instantly by any one of the keepers, for every infraction of the prison rules, even for the slightest attempt to break silence, or for inattention to work, or not working constantly and well.

The punishment of stripes has been found fault with; but both at Ghent and Auburn the keepers have given it as their opinion, that constant labour, and the maintenance of the very strict discipline enjoined, cannot be enforced without their having the power to inflict this summary punishment. It is only permitted to be inflicted on the back of the convict, in such manner as to produce personal suffering, without danger to the health or any vital part. In point of fact, however, the certainty of punishment following every offence is so thoroughly understood, that the power is, as already noticed, seldom exercised.

It has been said, that the higher price of provisions, and lower price of labour, render it improbable that such a financial result could be obtained in England as in the State of New York, where the whole prison expences are more than paid by the earnings of the convicts; and that, in point of fact, the experiment of labour has been tried in twelve of the best prisons in England, where the earnings of each convict amounted only to ten dollars per annum; 3699 convicts having

earned L. 8867 = 39,361 dollars, or 10 dollars, 64 cents each. The result of this experiment proves far too much. It demonstrates, from the nothingness of the earnings, that the convicts had not been kept to labour; that the keepers had paid no attention to their duty, and did not wish the experiment to succeed; probably on account of the trouble and increased attendance it would occasion to themselves if persevered in. How does it happen, if convicts can only earn 10 dollars a-year in jails in England, that they can earn L. 13 a-year in some years in the hulks, which the Parliamentary returns prove to be the case? But, farther, it is expressly stated by Mr Western, that at Preston there is a clear profit to the county from the labour of the prisoners in the year of L. 1398, 9s. 1d. If this result can be obtained in the prison at Preston, it may be obtained anywhere else; and our prisons may be rendered sources of profit, and their great objects, to deter from the commission of crime, and to contribute to the reformation of the offenders, at the same time be accomplished. But so desirable a change cannot be effected without having individuals thoroughly well qualified, as keepers, assistant-keepers, and officers, ready to devote their whole time to the duties imposed on them, and fairly and fully remunerated for the faithful discharge of them. Each of the assistant-keepers at Auburn has a salary of 450 dollars, which, when the cheapness of provisions, and absence from taxes in the State of New York, are considered, may be looked on as worth at least L. 150 with us. Hi-

therto it has but too frequently happened in this country, that keepers of prisons, and the other persons employed, have owed their appointments not so much to their fitness to hold them, as to their being the retainers of the friends of the political party in power. Now, however, (1832) when it has been publicly announced by the administration, that the government is no longer to be maintained by corruption, we may hope to see situations of this description filled by those best qualified to discharge their duties efficiently.

I quite agree with those who think that criminals, by being kept at constant labour from which they are to derive no profit, in a state of humiliating restraint, in solitude to a certain extent, and almost always doomed to silence, should be made to feel the wretchedness of their situation, and to view that sort of imprisonment to which they are subjected with dread and aversion. Such punishment is absolutely necessary for the sake of example, and to deter from the commission of crime; but this granted, I cannot conceive any rational objection, as some well-meaning and well-informed persons have done, to accompany this necessarily severe and strict course of discipline with the use of all the means likely to reclaim the offenders,—by religious instruction, —the benefit of a chaplain in the prison,—by education, where it has previously been neglected,—and by teaching culprits trades or professions, by betaking themselves to which they may, when liberated, gain an honest livelihood.

It is perfectly fair to complain in modern times of

the increased salubrity and cleanliness of prisons, and of the efforts made to reform the prisoners, and to put them in a way of gaining their bread when the term of their imprisonment is completed, provided, *but only* provided, that the great object is never for a moment lost sight of, viz. the rigid enforcement of such a system in other respects, as may infallibly lead criminals to contemplate the period of their imprisonment with feelings of fear, loathing, and horror. A well-regulated prison is in itself an object of dislike, dread, and terror to the really vicious, the thoroughly-formed delinquents. To them the easiest labour, if regular, and with the enforcement of regular habits, would be dreaded more than any thing else; for it is not the less true, though often forgotten, that, to be compelled to act like the regular and virtuous, is a heavy punishment to the irregular and criminal.—(*Vide Scotsman Newspaper of Edinburgh, 3d September* 1828.)

CHAPTER VII.

Journey from Auburn by Cayuga and Seneca Lakes to Buffalo, on Lake Erie—Stage from Auburn to Ithaca by Aurora Lake—Aurora Village—Gypsum—Apples—Ithaca Falls—Serenade to a party lately married—Bill at Ithaca—Breakfast on road—Village of Ovid—Geneva Village and Lake—Manners of Servants, or Helps—Professor Silliman's Advice how to act in respect to them—Mr Macnab of Geneva—Ride with him—First settlements in this Country—Agricultural Societies—Number of Stages at Geneva—Stage from Geneva to Canandaigua—Fine Country—Blossom's Hotel—Avon—Civility of Landlord—Anecdote—Carriages at Avon Church door quite universal—Presbyterian Church—Forms—Notice—Sacrament—Anecdote of Washington—Good understanding among Clergymen of different denominations—Freedom of Remarks in Stages—Absence of Hypocrisy in Religious Matters—Boarders at Avon—Village of Genessee—Mr Wadsworth's Meadows—Civility at the Hotel at the Village—Rapid change of Climate from Heat to Cold—Stage from Avon to Buffalo—Girdled Trees—Corduroy road near Buffalo.

From 2d September to 9th September.

Soon after our visit to the Auburn prison, we left the very comfortable family hotel at that village in the stage for Ithaca, at the head of the Cayuga lake, in order to have a look of the village of Aurora, on the eastern side of the lake, and to see a little more of the lakes than we should have done if we had adhered to the di-

rect western road, which passes the outlets or northern ends of those lakes. The lakes are parallel to each other, about thirty-three or thirty-five miles long, and two miles broad; our route is by the eastern side of the Cayuga lake to Ithaca, and thence by the western side of Seneca lake to Geneva on its northern extremity.

We proceeded by the western road as far as the outlet from Cayuga Lake, where there is a wooden bridge remarkable for its length, above a mile, and thence by the east side of the lake to Aurora, which is charmingly situated on rising ground above the lake, and is considered an eligible place of residence, on account of the beauty of the surrounding scenery, and cheapness of the necessaries of life. The village does not consist of a connected street, or rows of houses, but of a number of detached, clean-looking, and apparently comfortable small villas, inclosed in courts, or spots of garden ground ornamented with a few weeping willows or locust trees. Gypsum is found in large quantity in the northern parts of the land adjoining Cayuga Lake, and much used as manure at the rate of two bushels per acre. There is a great deal of ground in the neighbourhood devoted to orchards, at present in all their glory, loaded with fruit. The coachman drove so near the trees close to the road, that we had as many apples as we chose to pull. We dined at a small hotel at Aurora on pork, which, as we have always hitherto found it in this country, was excellent. The hogs are allowed in this country to run out in the forests and orchards, where

they subsist in great measure in the autumn on nuts, acorns, and fallen apples, and in some cases on fallen peaches. Before being killed they are put up for a short time on Indian corn. The flesh of the hogs fed in this way is firm and good. Our fellow-passengers consisted of a Pensylvania farmer; an Ithaca store-keeper; and a female, with her son Ulysses. We passed many good farms, some of them recently brought into cultivation, on which the usual processes of house-building, and inclosing by strong wooden rails, were in progress.

We found the regular supper was finished before we reached Mr Jones's hotel at Ithaca. The hotel seemed crowded with boarders and strangers; but the landlord, without our applying for it, gave us separate accommodation, and continued it, unasked, while we remained. Mr Jones is a most attentive landlord in all respects,—offered us his services on the day after we arrived, and which, too, we spent at Ithaca, to show us the village, and every thing in the neighbourhood which we had any curiosity to see. Ithaca is a very flourishing village, the centre of several great roads, with a population of between 3000 and 4000, and buildings in rapid progress. It is surrounded on all sides, but that towards the lake, by hills 300 and 400 feet high. The soil of the low grounds rich. Public or tea-gardens are common in the American towns. In one of the gardens here, kept by an Irish gardener, formerly employed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the gardens

at Lambeth, we saw some fine fruit, especially grapes, of which he sent us a liberal present to the hotel.

The falls of Fall Creek, a river of considerable size, which discharges itself into the Cayuga Lake, within a very short distance from Ithaca, almost in the environs, are very remarkable,—the descent being about 350 feet in the course of a mile and a-half, the last fall tumbling from a height of ninety feet; the river banks rocky, wild, and romantic.

There was a great deal of keen discussion in the bar-room of this hotel, on the subject of the approaching election of a President of the United States. Upon one occasion it was carried so far, and apparently as methodically, as if a regular meeting had been arranged to debate the merits of the two candidates. Rather too great warmth was displayed, but we afterwards found that one of the parties was a gentleman travelling through the State in order to learn the general sentiments as to one of the candidates, and that on this occasion he had accidentally got into collision with a gentleman similarly engaged on the other side. They addressed each other, the one as judge, probably a justice of peace, the other as colonel. A good many people were present, but took hardly any share in the disputation.

During the night we were disturbed by a band of music,—clarionets, hautboys, and wind instruments,—close to the hotel for several hours. Scots airs were chiefly played. Auld Lang Syne, John Anderson my Joe, &c. It turned out that a marriage had taken place the day before, in a house a door or two from the hotel,

and that the friends of the party had ordered a serenade for them. We had not previously observed any public musical performers, not even an organist on the street, at New York, or anywhere else.

At the Ithaca hotel, both brandy and white wine were set before us at dinner, and though we partook of the latter, no separate charge was made. The bill, instead of stating so much for board for a certain period, as is usual, was made out at so much for each meal,—breakfast at 1s. 6d.; dinner, 1s. 6d.; tea and supper, 1s. 3d., and lodging, 8d. per night for each; so that the whole charge for two nights' lodgings; supper on the evening of our arrival, and meals during the next day,—at all of which there was animal food and poultry in profusion,—amounted, for three persons, to 5 dollars, 13 cents, or L. 1, 6s. 9d. No waiter or boots to be paid, nor extra charge of any kind. In general in this part of the country, we are told, that the charge per day for persons travelling is a dollar,—probably not more than three dollars a week for resident regular boarders.

We pursued our journey on the 5th towards Geneva. Looking back from a height about two miles from Ithaca, and to the north-west of it, we were delighted with a view of the village, the falls, the hills covered with wood, and the lake. We breakfasted at a hotel by the roadside, kept by a person of the name of Pratt. The farm-labourers were seated at table with us, but the breakfast was good. We were hungry, and we solaced ourselves after breakfast with as many fine peaches in

the orchard as we chose to devour. Some of our fellow-passengers were not well pleased that matters should have happened so on account of the strangers, and were anxious to explain, that it was only at such a place as this, off the great roads, that it could have occurred.

We had the widow of a farmer in the stage with us, now herself managing above 150 acres. She gave us minute details of her agricultural operations,—her butter-making, cheese-making, and cyder; as well as maple sugar-making; but although she was, as generally happens here, the proprietor of the land she farmed, and had only taxes of the most trifling amount to pay, it did not appear that the high price of labour allowed her to do much more, than comfortably to bring up a family of half a dozen children. The only village we passed on our way to Geneva was Ovid, with its handsomely situated church, and fine piece of green turf between the church and hotel. The American villages are generally announced to you by the spires of their churches peeping through the trees on your approach. No religious sect is more favoured than others. Every church, whether consisting of Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, or Unitarians, has its spire if the funds be sufficient, generally of wood, frequently with a glittering roof of tin, and of better architecture than the church itself.

The situation of Geneva on a terrace above the lake is very delightful, as well as commanding, and the village, containing some good houses, and a population of 2000 or 3000, seems an agreeable place of residence,

more cheerful looking, and the landscape and views more pleasing, than any of our resting-places since leaving the vale of the Mohawk. The hotel is large, and well kept, and the people disposed to be obliging; but it is everywhere, we find, rather difficult to get the waiter or chambermaid to come to the bed-chamber door for the shoes to clean, and to bring them back, and to bring hot water for shaving in the morning. The custom is in the evening to exchange your shoes, which are left in a corner of the bar-room, for a pair of not very nice looking slippers, which again you exchange next morning in the bar-room for your cleaned shoes. As to shaving, it is a very general practice for travellers to shave in public in the bar-rooms, where there is always a looking-glass. Male persons do frequently wash close to the pump well, where there are basons placed on a wooden bench. This practice is not uncommon in France. The people in this house seem very attentive to every request; but you have no redress any where if the waiters forget or refuse to attend to requests which are considered unusual; and if they be Americans, and not of colour, they will seldom receive money from a passenger; and so generally consider it an insult to have it offered, that it is not advisable to make the proposal. On the other hand, whenever the waiters are people of colour, or Irish, or generally speaking European, they will not object to receive a douceur; but let the traveller, if he intends to give one, do it in private; and let him take an opportunity to let the waiter know his intention in due time, because he

will not otherwise expect any thing, and may perhaps in that case turn out less attentive to your requests than the American, who will seldom refuse if your application be made as a matter of favour in civil terms. Civility, as Lady Mary Montague truly observes, costs nothing, and buys every thing. There is so much truth and good sense in the instructions which Professor Silliman of Newhaven, in his tour from Connecticut to Quebec, gives on this subject to English travellers, that my pen cannot, I believe, be better employed than in transcribing them. "We were attended (Dr S. alludes to an inn in Connecticut,) by one of those comely respectable young women, (a daughter of the landlord,) who so often in our public houses perform these services, without departing from the most correct, respectable, and amiable deportment."

"This is a peculiarity in the manners of this country which is not at once understood by a foreigner, and especially by an Englishman. Such a person, if uninstructed in the genius of the country, almost of course presumes that all those whom he sees in public houses are in servile situations. If he adopt towards them an imperious and harsh manner, he gives offence, and produces coldness, and possibly resentment, so that the interview ends in mutual dissatisfaction. If the traveller should write a book, he of course enlarges on the rudeness of American manners, and it is very possible that even the servants of our inns may give him some occasion for such remarks, if they are treated as persons of their condition commonly are in Europe. Some years

since, to an Englishman emigrating to America, the obvious causes which often disgust the English, and offend the Americans, when the former are travelling among the latter, and especially in the smaller towns and villages, were faithfully pointed out. It was strongly recommended to him, rather to ask as a favour what he had a right to command as a duty; to treat the heads of the public houses with marked respect, and their sons and daughters who might be in attendance, and even the servants, with kindness and courtesy, avoiding the use of terms and epithets, which might imply inferiority and servitude; to make their duties as light as possible; to manifest no unpleasant peculiarities; and to make no unreasonable demands with respect to food, wines, and cookery. He was assured that with such a spirit he would be treated with respect and kindness; that he would be cheerfully served; that the best the house afforded would be promptly obtained by him; and should he even visit the same house again, that he would probably be remembered and welcomed with cordiality. It was suggested that he must indeed occasionally concede something to familiarity and curiosity; but that, with an amiable spirit and courteous department, he would not meet with rudeness or neglect, or have occasion to write an angry sentence concerning the Americans. And he was told that even the familiarity and curiosity which are sometimes unpleasant, would be commonly repaid by the communication of valuable local information.

"As the gentleman to whom these remarks were

addressed was gay, and had been a military man, he was cautioned not to presume that any members of the families at the public houses might be treated with levity, for he would find that fathers and brothers were at hand, and pecuniary considerations would be sacrificed at once to the respectability of the house. After this gentleman had travelled fourteen months in the United States, he came to the town where his adviser resided, and thanked him for his cautions. He said that they had been of the greatest service to him,—that he had found the predictions fully verified, and himself treated with hospitality and kindness, while he had seen others of his countrymen, pursuing an opposite deportment, meet with very unpleasant treatment, and creating both for themselves and others perpetual dissatisfaction."

While noticing the customs of inns in this country, I ought not to omit to notice that we have found bells altogether dispensed with since leaving Albany. We understand that American waiters are not fond of being called by the sound of a bell, and that, unless in the large towns, we shall hardly see them any where. Bells, however, are not in universal use over Europe,—they are more frequent in England than in any other country. Even in France they are very far from being general. In Turkey there are none, as Lord Byron tells us, "Turkey contains no bells, and yet men dine." There are neither posts nor curtains to beds in that part of the country where we are travelling, nor even the means of putting up a canopy or covering to exclude light.

My friend who was travelling with us was known to Mr Macnab of Geneva, a Scotch gentleman, who has resided here for several years, greatly respected, and who has the charge of the chief land-office. He prevailed on us soon after our arrival to remain there on the 6th, by his obliging offer to drive us out in his barouche to see the neighbouring country. The weather was very propitious on the 6th,—fine clear sky. In the course of our ride we saw great tracts of country lately settled and improved, much of it good, though not all of equally fertile soil,—the farm-houses generally new and good,—several of the farms belonging to British settlers; one of the largest to an Englishman,—the country roads far better than I expected,—the trees in the forest magnificent, not in point of circumference, for they are too close to each other even to have lateral branches, but in point of height and cleanness of the bark. I am no advocate, even from what I have already seen, and with the very limited information I possess, for foreigners undertaking the first settlement in this country themselves. The toils of wood-cutting, house-building, and inclosing, are immense; and, added to those is the great risk to health, which a foreigner and his family, far more than a native, incurs by the exhalations from the wood-cutting process. All the necessary operations are performed better, more quickly, and with less danger to health, by the natives, who are accustomed to them, and better inured to the hardships attendant on bivouacking in the woods before a dwelling-house is prepared. The ne-

cessary privations are more readily submitted to by the natives than by foreigners, and are in truth much less prejudicial to them.

Agricultural societies are almost universal in every county of the State of New York, and patronized by the State government, which has contributed large funds for the promotion of their objects, especially for raising the best crops. Premiums had been given in some of the neighbouring counties of the northern part of the state to farmers who had been the successful competitors, by raising 80 bushels of winter wheat per English acre, 44 bushels of spring wheat, 84 bushels of oats, 56 bushels of barley, and 132 bushels of Indian corn,—a quantity of Indian corn sufficient for bread to eleven men for one year.

On applying for our stage tickets from Geneva to Canandaigua, or to have our places marked, which is according to the usual custom, the bar-keeper seemed to hesitate. I asked him if all the places were already taken, and received a very comfortable answer, that we could never be subjected to any inconvenience on that account in travelling on this line of road, as extra carriages are always provided to carry forward any number of travellers that may apply at the regular stage-houses, to go on. The number of stages leaving the hotel at Geneva where we lodged was twenty, and they continue to run during the whole year.

There seemed to be a great number of boarders in the hotel at Geneva. Mr Macnab, though having a good house and servants, followed the usual practice.

Not having a family, he boarded at the hotel. Mr Macnab was in bad health when we saw him, and died, as I learned, a few months afterwards.

Early on 7th September, we proceeded to Canandaigua, on the lake of the same name, sixteen miles distant from Geneva, through a very fertile district; it is considered the most beautiful village in the State of New York; population about 3000. It rises gradually for above a mile from the lake, with an extensive opening for the public buildings in the centre of the street. I am not sure, if I admire the situation more than that of Geneva, but the style of the houses is decidedly superior. There is more appearance of their having been designed and set down with taste than I have observed elsewhere. In short, advantage has been taken of the ground, and of its relative situation with the lake, to place them on the fittest spots. They are generally separate, and distinct dwelling-houses, their exterior painted perfectly white, and they recede from the street of the village, the sides of which are shaded with trees, inclosed in neatly laid out gardens. Some of the houses are large, and too good to be denominated villas.

Mr Blossom's hotel might be called splendid, if every part of it be equal to the dining-room, which is spacious, and handsome; but we saw little more of it, our stay being limited to two or three hours. The dinner was excellent; and the landlord did the honours well at the head of the table. We had the luxury in the middle of the day, when it still continues very hot, of

partaking of a bottle of London brown stout from a cool cellar, and certainly never enjoyed it more.

From Canandaigua to Avon, where we finished our journey on the 7th, the distance is about twenty-four miles, generally through good land, equal to any we have seen. We found a very clean and well-managed, though not very large, hotel at Mr Asa Bowlen's at Avon, where we agreed to remain till the 9th. The hotel-keeper himself was at the head of every thing, and attended to his bar-room; his wife was housekeeper and cook; and his daughters, smart young ladies, when the work was done, after dinner, officiated both as chambermaids and waiters. The only stranger in the house was a white man, a waiter. Next morning, the 8th, the landlord had a carriage waiting for us, having heard us say that one of us intended to go to the Sulphur Spring, about a mile distant, to have a bath. The spring, which is situated in the adjoining forest, is highly sulphurous, but the accommodation is not yet good; the spring having only lately been brought into notice. After breakfast, we proposed attending divine service in the Congregational Church at some distance from the hotel, and were told the carriage would be ready to take us. We gladly availed ourselves of the conveyance, the day being very hot, and had not proceeded 200 yards on our way, when the driver stopped, and took up a little girl, of about eleven years old, who came from a house we were passing. We looked, I presume, somewhat surprised, as if we had said, "who are you?" or, "we have not the pleasure of your acquaintance;" for she

lost no time, without, however, appearing in the least degree abashed, in telling us "I am the captain's driver's girl;"—letting us know, in short, that she conceived she had as good a right to a seat in the carriage going to church as we had, if there was room. The captain and our landlord are the same person, he being, or having, I suppose, been captain of militia. Military designations are those alone which the people seem to care for;—waiters and drivers in addressing strangers with respect address them as major or captain. I have been addressed as captain again and again in this journey.

The great number, and the variety of carriages, gigs, and dearborns at the church door was quite new to us, who now for the first time were at a country church door in the United States. No one, who does not live in the village, walks to church on foot. All have conveyances of some sort or other, and come in them. Indeed, such a thing as a human being walking any where on the public roads out of the villages is rarely seen. The earnings of the labourers enable them to travel in the stages; and the custom of the country is for all to ride in some sort of carriage.

The horses and carriages were tied up in great sheds near the church doors, during the time of service. There was nothing remarkable in the first part of the service. The day was hot, and the precentor, as usual, in the centre of the front gallery, opposite to the minister, officiated not only without a gown, but without a coat on his back. There was some sort of instrumen-

tal music,—hautboys and bassoons, I think,—against which there are, as we hear, no prejudices in this country. The clergyman, a very unaffected, sincere-looking person, delivered a plain, sensible discourse, in which he introduced the names of Dr Erskine and Dr Chalmers, which sounded strange to us, considering where we were on the western side of the Atlantic, not very far from the Falls of Niagara. At the close of the sermon, he addressed his hearers in some such terms as these:—"My Friends, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is to be dispensed here this evening. This is a free church, open to all,—Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and other denominations of Christians. This is according to our belief. All are invited; the risk is their's." Such liberality is, we find on inquiry, not unusual among clergymen, and congregations of different sects, with the exception, in general, of Unitarians. I observe an example, not of recent date, recorded in Hosack's Life of Clinton, already referred to; and, as it relates to the great father of the United States, and is of unquestionable authority, resting on the testimony of a clergyman to whom Dr Jones related the facts, I think it of sufficient interest for insertion. "While the American army, under the command of Washington, lay encamped in the environs of Morris Town, New Jersey, it occurred that the service of the communion (then observed semi-annually only,) was to be administered in the Presbyterian Church of that village. In a morning of the previous week, the General, after his accustomed inspection of

the camp, visited the house of the Reverend Dr Jones, then pastor of that church, and, after the usual preliminaries, thus accosted him: 'Doctor, I understand that the Lord's Supper is to be celebrated with you next Sunday. I would learn, if it accords with the canons of your church to admit communicants of another denomination?' The Doctor rejoined, 'Most certainly. Ours is not the Presbyterian table, General, but the Lord's table; and we hence give the Lord's invitation to all his followers, of whatever name.' The General replied, 'I am glad of it; that is as it ought to be; but, as I was not quite sure of the fact, I thought I would ascertain it from yourself, as I propose to join with you on that occasion. Though a member of the Church of England, I have no exclusive partialities.' The Doctor re-assured him of a cordial welcome, and the General was found seated with the communicants the next Sabbath."

During my residence in the United States subsequent to this period, I was frequently witness to the good understanding which generally, though, doubtless, not universally, prevails among clergymen professing different opinions on church forms, and doctrinal points, in this country; and I occasionally observed notices in the newspapers to the same purpose. The two following I have preserved:—"The corner-stone of a new Baptist Church was laid at Savannah in Georgia, and the ceremonial services were performed by the clergymen of the Methodist, German, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Baptist Churches. The Sacrament of

the Lord's Supper was administered in the Reverend Mr Post's church, (Presbyterian Church at Washington,) and, as usual, all members of other churches in regular standing were invited to unite with the members of that church, in testifying their faith in, and love to, their Lord and Saviour. The invited guests assembled around the table; and it so happened, that Mr Grundy, a senator from Tenessee, and two Cherokee Indians, were seated side by side."

Nothing is more astounding in the stage-coach intercourse with the people of this country, as well as in the bar-rooms, where travellers meet, than the freedom, and apparent sincerity of their remarks, and the perfect feeling of equality with which the conversation is maintained, especially on religious matters. I have heard the most opposite creeds maintained without any thing like acrimonious discussion, or sarcastic remark, by persons in the same stage, professing themselves undisguisedly Calvinists, Episcopalians, Methodists, and Unitarians. On one occasion, I recollect the father of a family unhesitatingly avow in a considerable party of people in his own house, that he was a free-thinker, and never went to a church; while at the same time his daughters, who were young women, had brought my wife for perusal Calvinistical religious tracts, of which she understood them to express their approval. It would perhaps be quite as well, if hypocrisy in religious matters were an unfashionable vice in other countries as well as this. Lord Byron would have found, if he

had been here, that it does not always require to be chaunted by a " forty parson power."

The boarders at Avon were not numerous. The landlord did not appear at the head of his table, but his place was supplied by the doctor of the village, who boarded in the house. The dinner was excellent; plenty of brandy on the table, but, as usual, little of it used. This does seem very odd; for if you go half an hour afterwards to the bar-room, it is not at all improbable that you may meet some of your dinner companions smoking a cigar, and taking a tumbler or half tumbler of brandy, water, and sugar. For [illegible] threepence Sterling is in general payable; sometimes sixpence at the great houses. The quantity of brandy which the partaker pours into the tumbler, for the bar-keeper puts the bottle into his hands, is usually about half of a wine-glass. I have never seen plain brandy, or spirits of any kind, used by any person in this country; but people by going from house to house, and drinking at the bar-rooms, may take what quantity they like, almost unobserved, and without much expence.

In the afternoon, we hired a carriage to take us to Genessee, a small village on the river of the same name, which passes through Rochester, where are the magnificent Falls of the Genessee, that we might have an opportunity of seeing Mr Wadsworth's flats or meadows, which are thought the finest and most productive in this country; they consist of a great tract of low lying land along the river side, covered with luxuriant herbage. We learned, on arriving at the village of

Genessee, that our driver was ignorant of the way to the low grounds, and therefore stopped at the village, nine miles from Avon, at one of the hotels, where we applied for, and obtained a guide. The farm of Mr Wadsworth is of great extent, about 4000 acres; but the beautiful tract of alluvial land does not exceed 1600 or 1700 acres of the most fertile soil that can be conceived. A few noble oaks, single trees, which are seldom met with here, adorn the fields. I measured one of them, which was twenty-eight feet in circumference. On our return to the village, it was necessary to stop to water the horses. We alighted at the hotel, and asked for some fruit, that we might not be giving trouble without calling for something for which we should have to pay. They brought us some early apples, which are in this country quite a delicious fruit. When we returned to the carriage, and asked what we had to pay, and what was the charge for the guide, the latter showed that he almost considered himself insulted by our question. He was very glad to be of any use to strangers: the people of the hotel also would receive nothing for the apples, and were happy they had been able to show us any civility.

The evening continued very warm to its close; but to our surprise, next morning was extremely cold. The thermometer had fallen above thirty degrees, being at forty-eight of Fahrenheit. Great coats and shawls were therefore put in requisition, and the curtains of the stage let down. At settling our bill, we found no charge for the carriage which had carried us

to the Sulphur Spring and to church; but before getting off, the driver, a man of colour, placed himself in a snug situation, where I could not fail to see him, in expectation of a gratuity. The whole charge at this hotel, exclusive of the hire of the carriage to Genessee, was five dollars, or about seven shillings Sterling each person, for two suppers, two breakfasts, one dinner, and two nights' lodgings.

The distance from Avon to Buffalo, the extent of our journey on 9th September, is sixty-seven miles; the country almost all settled, and some very good farms on the way. The people are busily employed in many places in harvesting the Indian corn crop, between the rows of which, when the crop is taken off, there appear pumpkins in considerable quantities, which here are used as food both for man and beast. The farm-work is entirely done by men. No white woman is ever allowed to work out of doors in the United States.

In clearing the forest, the settlers find it the easiest plan to make a cut through the bark altogether round the trees, a few feet above the ground. The trees decay and die, and, being without leaves, grain crops are raised close to them. Fire is afterwards applied to them, but the stumps remain for a considerable period in the ground, and give rather a lugubrious aspect to the country when they are in great numbers. When the bark is cut in the manner described, the trees are said to be girdled.

Our road passed through several thriving villages,

Caledonia, Le Roy, Batavia, Alden, &c. Le Roy and Batavia are considerable places, the population of each being about 3000. At our dining inn, they gave us in lieu of a pie or pudding, ripe peaches stewed with cream and sugar, which is universal in this country. We found the substitute a very good one.

The last part of the road, before we reached Buffalo, is the most unpleasant that can be imagined, and had almost shaken us to pieces. The ground is swampy, and the road passes over logs or trees cut on the spot, and placed so near to each other, that the wheels pass from the one to the other. There is not enough of covering of earth or other materials between the logs, and the stage makes such swings in getting along, as would break the springs of any British carriage, but the strong leathern belts of the American carriage never give way. The Americans call this a corduroy road. We did not get on for several miles at the rate of more than three miles an hour, and found on our arrival at the Eagle, a very spacious hotel at Buffalo, that supper had been some time finished. An excellent supper was, however, soon provided, and the fatigues of the journey, occasioned by the roughness of the road, were speedily forgotten.

CHAPTER VIII.

Buffalo, on Lake Erie—Burning of Buffalo—Breakfast at Buffalo—Stage from Buffalo to Falls of Niagara—Expence of Boarding at Buffalo—Village of Black-Rock—Chippewa—Islands in the River Niagara—Grand Island—Rapids in the Niagara—Bath Island and Goat Island—First View of Falls of Niagara—Details—Immensity of the Mass of Water—Mr Morris's Account of the Falls—Beauty of Rainbows—Darby's Account of the Falls—Swiftness of current above Falls—Chateaubriand's escape there—Actions between the British and Americans on the Niagara last War—Great loss on both sides—Character of American Soldiers and Militia—Views of Americans as to Canada—Mr Clay's Speech—Navigation of the St Lawrence—Right of Impressment, and of Search—Number of Militia of United States—Of the Regular Army—Expence of Canada—Inferior Timber brought from it—Welland and Rideau Canals—Qubebec Fortifications—Administration of Canada—Its Resources—Hotels in neighbourhood of Niagara Falls—Inmates in Mr Forsyth's House—Captain Brant—Mr Norton—Cyder difficult to be got good—Stage from Niagara Falls to Newark, near Lake Ontario—Steam-Boat—Queenston, on Lake Ontario—Basin of St Lawrence—Contents of Water—Passengers in the Steam-Boat—Depth of Lake Ontario—Kingston—Brockville—Lake of a thousand Islands—Rapid crossed in Steam-Boat to La Prairie—Stage from La Prairie to St John's on the outlet from Lake Champlain.

From 9th to 17th September.

BUFFALO is on the Niagara River, the outlet from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, and the Canadian Sea.

The river is about thirty-five miles long, and the descent to Lake Ontario above 330 feet. The village is close to Lake Erie, on ground somewhat raised above the lake. There is a fine alluvial plain below the village, almost on a level with the lake, and the place is remarkable from being the point where the Erie Canal commences. There are many good-looking hotels; but we are told, that the Eagle, which contains accommodation for nearly 200 persons, is the best. We have found it very good. Buildings are going on rapidly, and there is every prospect of Buffalo becoming one of the greatest commercial stations in the State of New York. Its present population is between 5000 and 6000, double of what it was four years ago. Buffalo was burnt by the British in the year 1814, in retaliation for devastation of the same kind committed by the Americans at Newark, on the Canadian frontier, near the mouth of the Niagara. Only one house escaped the conflagration at Buffalo.

We took a hurried view of Lake Erie, a sea 250 miles long, and 50 miles broad, and of the village itself, on the morning of the 10th; and on our return from our peregrinations, were ushered into the dining-room of the hotel, about 100 feet long, where from 80 to 100 people were assembled, partaking of as abundant and excellent a breakfast as I have ever seen. We were at once recognized to be strangers; and our neighbours at table vied with each other in showing us civilities, in offering the various sorts of bread and other good things, placed on the different parts of a

very long table. This sort of attention we find every where paid to us as strangers, more especially as coming from Britain. The number of travellers here is prodigious,—most of them on their way to the shores of the American Mediterranean, of which Buffalo is the first, the eastern port. Mr Spafford, the geographer, who was here in 1825, writes, " that in 1797, there was not a house from Genessee River to this place, and here only a few huts for Indian traders; that in July 1825, there were passing, as he supposed, 500 persons each day all going west; and that, from what he had observed, there must be about 1000 strangers constantly in this village, just arrived, all in a bustle." The breakfast ended, we took our departure by the stage for Niagara Falls. The stage was full of passengers, one of whom, a well-informed mercantile man, who boarded permanently in the Eagle Hotel, and had an establishment at Buffalo, as well as at Newark, told me, that the weekly charge at the Eagle Hotel for permanent boarders was only two and-a-half dollars. Provisions of every kind are extremely cheap at Buffalo; beef twopence per lb. &c.

Our route was on the American side of the Niagara, as far as the village of Black-Rock, where we crossed the river, about a mile wide, in a horse ferry-boat. There is a handsome villa, belonging to General Porter, late secretary to the navy for the United States, in the neighbourhood. From Black-Rock we had a very pleasant ride, by a level road along the river side sixteen miles, to Chippewa, the battle-ground of a severely con-

tested action between the Americans and the British in 1814, and to Niagara Falls, three miles farther. The country we passed through was entirely level, greatly overcropped, and there was very little appearance of industry or exertion to reclaim it. Wherever the stage stopped to water the horses, the doors were crowded with children offering apples and plums for sale; and we saw, for the first time on this side of the Atlantic, several beggars.

We distinctly heard the sound of the cataract, about ten miles from the falls; but it is often heard at a far greater distance in favourable states of the wind and atmosphere, even, it is said, thirty miles from them. The spray, appearing like a cloud of smoke, was visible at the distance of more than two miles.

There are many islands in the Niagara, all the way to the falls, and close above them; but the principal island is about half-way between Black-Rock and the falls, called Grand Island, containing between 11,000 and 12,000 acres. The river is about a mile and a half in width below Grand Island, and there the current increases. The river becomes still more contracted on its way to the falls. The rapids succeed, which are swift currents, occasioned by great descents of the river, tumbling perpendicularly, in some places six, eight, and ten feet, over ledges of rock, the whole descent being about sixty feet.

Two small islands, Bath Island and Goat Island, intervene on the American side, very near the falls, and separate the river into two branches, the great mass of

water descending by the direct and far wider channel on the Canada side, by what is called the Horse-shoe Fall. Part of Goat Island, above 900 feet in width, is here interjected between the Horse-shoe Fall, and the fall on the American side.

The road from Buffalo passes so near the falls, that they are to some extent visible from the stage; but the carriage being full, we had no notion of this, the greatest of the wonders of nature which we have ever seen, until after we landed at Mr Forsyth's hotel, which is within 200 or 300 yards of the falls. I need not say with what impatience we passed through it, and got the first view from the piazzas in the rear of the house. The first sight only increased our desire to have the whole scene unfolded. We hurried across the adjoining field to the Table Rock, which projects and looks over the falls, and to the other stations on the Canada side of the river. We afterwards crossed the river in a small boat, about 200 or 300 yards below the falls, saw them from the American side, and from Goat Island, and hardly quitted the spot, unless to snatch a bit of dinner, while day-light remained.

The best points of view are from the Table Rock and from the boat, from which the falls, as well on the American as on the Canada side, are seen. But the rapids are seen to the greatest advantage from Goat Island, to which a very ingeniously constructed and strong rough bridge has been thrown on the American side, over great blocks of rock and rapids.

There is no difficulty in getting to these stations.

To Table Rock, the way across the field from the hotel is without any difficulty; and there is a winding path to facilitate the descent of about 300 feet to the boat. The water is a good deal agitated at the point, about 1200 yards in width, where the boat crosses, but the boatman's knowledge of the eddies enables him to pass with perfect safety in ten or fifteen minutes. Passengers must, however, lay their account with something like a drenching from the spray of the falls in crossing, and should be well provided with great coats. There is a steep wooden stair from the landing-place, to the top of the bank on the American side, and from thence by the bridge over the rapids already mentioned, Goat Island is readily approached. On the north side of that island, the rocks projected into the river, 200 or 300 feet immediately over the Falls, are accessible by a rough wooden bridge, below which the water runs with fearful velocity. From these rocks, the view over the precipice and great fall is terrific,—absolutely appalling, although the prodigious magnitude of the tumbling waters is not so apparent at this spot as from the Table Rock and the boat. I descended a spiral staircase, which conducts to the edge of the river, below the Table Rock, but did not proceed into the cavern below the rock. The ground was exceedingly slippery. A false step might have precipitated me into the abyss. The spray was driving in no small quantity into the cavern. Were it not for those serious obstacles impeding the approach, and which at all times exist to a considerable extent, the edge of the cavern would be the station of

all others the most sublime for contemplating this extraordinary sight. There is, however, an excellent point of view, which the spray very often does not prevent a spectator from enjoying, somewhat nearer the falls than the foot of the ladder, and there it is perhaps as well that cautious travellers should stop.

The overwhelming sensations, with which a spectator can hardly fail to be affected, are produced by the immense flood,—not less than 100 millions of tons of water per hour,—the stupendous mass, and overpowering force of the roaring and falling waters. It is in truth a great deep ocean, thrown over a precipice nearly 160 feet high. Every thing, every surrounding object, is viewed with indifference, while the mind is wholly absorbed in the contemplation of a spectacle so sublime, —surpassing in majesty and grandeur and power, all the works of nature which have ever arrested the attention, or presented themselves to the imagination. No just or adequate description can be conveyed by language. Such words as grandeur, majesty, sublimity, fail altogether to express the feelings which so magnificent a sight, exceeding so immeasurably all of the same kind that we have ever seen or imagined, excites. Dr Hosack's Life of Clinton contains a letter from the late Gouverneur Morris, the American minister in France, to his friend, Mr John Parish of Hamburg, giving an account of a journey he had been making in the State of New York. His allusion to the Falls of Niagara, in the following paragraph, seems to me exceedingly just, and to afford, as far as can be done

by verbal description, the simplest, plainest, and most intelligible data for forming a conception of them:

"To form," (says Mr Morris,) "a faint idea of the cataract, imagine to yourself the Frith of Forth rush wrathfully down a deep descent, leap foaming over a perpendicular rock 175 feet high, then flow away in the semblance of milk from a vast basin of emerald." Suppose, then, for the sake of greater accuracy, the Frith of Forth at Queensferry, or rather that part of it interjected between Inchgarvey Island and the north shore, where it is not quite so wide as the river Niagara at the top of the falls, tumbling in mass over a precipitous rock 160 feet into an abyss, and you will then have some notion of the unparalleled, the petrifying influence, with which the Falls of Niagara impress the beholder. But truly, as the poet says, the eye of man must see this miracle to comprehend it, or the feelings it produces.

The great volume of water, of course, inclines very much forward in its descent, projecting about fifty feet from the base, and falls, for the most part of the perpendicular height, in an unbroken sheet of dark-green colour, until it meets a cloud of spray ascending from the rocks below, in which it is lost to the eye.

We were fortunate in having fine weather,—bright sunshine,—when we were on the spot. The prismatic colours were always to be seen; and more than once we had rainbows complete, of the most vivid colours, and peculiarly brilliant at sunrise, but of the beauty of which it is impossible to give any idea.

It is said that instances frequently occur of travellers, who visit Niagara Falls, expressing at first sight something like disappointment. This may perhaps be accounted for by the want of mountains, rocks, and the grand romantic scenery which generally accompany any considerable falls of water, and which travellers are thus so much accustomed to associate with them, that when the latter only are exhibited to view, they seem, as it were, to feel themselves as only in the possession of one-half of their expected enjoyment; but this impression can only be momentary, and must be succeeded by a perception of the matchless extent and terrific power of this prodigious rush of waters. "It is left alone," as Darby very correctly remarks, "in simple and sublime dignity, to impress upon the soul a sense of majestic grandeur, which loss of life or intellect can alone obliterate, and the force of which no language can convey. If towering mountains and craggy rocks surrounded Niagara, much of its first effect would be lost. As it is, it is an image whose whole contour is at once seen, and the view unbroken by extraneous objects. Even sound is subservient to the impression made upon the heart. None is heard, except the eternal war of the cataract."

The current for more than a mile above the falls is so swift that accidents not unfrequently happen from the fool-hardiness of persons attempting to cross the river in small boats, near that part of it where the rapids begin. Many sad recitals were given us; but we took more pleasure in turning to the account of the

almost miraculous escape of Chateaubriand from being thrown over the precipice above the falls themselves, — an instance of good fortune not unworthy of being noticed "On his arrival he had repaired to the fall, having the bridle of his horse twisted round his arm. While he was stooping to look down, a rattlesnake stirred among the neighbouring bushes, the horse was startled, reared, and ran back towards the abyss. He could not disengage his arm from the bridle, and the horse, more and more frightened, dragged him after him. His fore-legs were all but off the ground, and squatting on the brink of the precipice; he was upheld merely by the bridle. He gave himself up for lost, when the animal himself, astonished at this new danger, threw himself forward with a pirouette, and sprang to the distance of ten feet from the edge of the abyss." Those who have dreamed that they were on the point of being thrown over a perpendicular precipice, and who, awaking, find themselves well, and comfortably in bed, will be able to form some idea of the sensation of this celebrated person at such a time.

The banks of the river Niagara were the scene of a succession of very severe actions between the Americans and the British in the years 1812, 1813, and 1814, The warfare being altogether on the frontier, and the militia on both sides of the river called out, the contest was attended with all the aggravations attending a state of civil war; the combatants being not merely near neighbours in point of residence, but so connected with each other by blood, that brothers and fathers-in-

law were obliged to fight against each other. Every town on the boundary line was in the course of the war destroyed, either by the one belligerent or the other, as they were alternately successful; and the inhabitants, women and children, frequently forced to take refuge in the neighbouring forest from the inclemency of the weather, and the barbarity of their enemies, part of whom were Indians.

In the beginning of the war the British were successful, but the Americans rallied as soon as they and their commanders acquired the skill, discipline, and steadiness necessary to give effect to their bravery, and in the four desperate recontres that took place in the months of July, August, and September, 1814, not far from Niagara Falls, it is even now difficult for those, who have nothing but the official dispatches of the American and British commanders to rely on, to decide to which side victory chiefly leaned.

The first of these engagements took place at Chippewa, on the road from Black-Rock to Niagara Falls, within two miles of the Falls, on 5th July 1814. Here the Marquis of Tweeddale was severely wounded. Both parties claim the victory in the official dispatches; but, as the British, who made the attack, retreated after the action, it is now rather to be presumed that they did not succeed in their object. The battle of Lundylane, or Bridgewater, very soon followed the action at Chippewa. It was fought on the 25th of July on the road and adjoining ground, on the way to Queenston, about half a mile from Mr Forsyth's hotel at Niagara Falls,

and was most obstinately contested. General Drummond, who commanded the British, was severely wounded; General Riall, second in command, wounded, and made prisoner; the American generals, Brown and Scott, wounded. General Drummond in his official dispatch admits, that "of so determined a manner were the repeated attacks of the enemy directed against our guns, that our artillerymen were bayonetted by the enemy in the act of loading, and the muzzles of the enemy's guns were advanced within a few yards of ours." On this occasion, the Americans were the assailants; and as they returned to their camp after the action, it may in like manner be taken for granted that they did not gain their object. Both parties, however, claim the honour of being victors in this, which is said to have been the most sanguinary action ever fought in America. It is difficult to ascertain the number of troops that were engaged from the dispatches of the commanders; but it would seem that not more than 9000 men were engaged on both sides. And of this number 1738 are recorded as killed, wounded, and missing; the loss was very nearly equal on each side.

General Drummond directed the attack on the American army, which had retreated to Fort Erie, in the neighbourhood of Black-Rock, and on the fort itself, on 15th August, but was obliged to retire with great loss. Colonel Scott of the 103d, and Colonel Drummond of the 104th, regiments were killed.

The British, however, continued in the neighbourhood, engaged in the construction of batteries, with a

view to storm the fort, until 17th September, when the American army made a sortie, captured the batteries, destroyed the cannon, and had a partial engagement with the British, who retreated two or three days afterwards to Chippewa. The American General Ripley was wounded on this occasion.

The total loss on both sides in these four battles amounted, according to the British returns of theirs, to 2703, killed, wounded, and missing; and, according to the American returns of their loss, to 1783, —above a third part of the armies engaged,—which certainly did not amount in all, on the largest computation, to 12,000 men. General Drummond states in one of his dispatches, that he did not include the militia in the specified number of his troops, neither does he mention the number of the Indians, so that numerical exactness is out of the question.

It is impossible to peruse the official accounts of these actions, without giving credit to the talent displayed by the American commanders, as well as to the gallantry of the army under their command. No doubt their raw troops could not in the outset cope with the veterans with whom they had to contend; several British regiments having, previous to the first engagement to which I have referred, arrived in Canada from the peninsula. None of the American generals who commanded had, previously to the warfare on this frontier, been engaged in actual service. General Scott, who, above all, distinguished himself, both at Chippewa and Lundylane, and who is now considered one of the

ablest officers in the American army, had been a lawyer of some eminence in Virginia. The very first battle he witnessed was that in which Sir Isaac Brock was killed at Queenston in October 1812. These American campaigns have, in fact, taught the Americans what disciplined soldiers are, and have created generals and troops for them. They have done what the Czar Peter predicted Charles the Twelfth would do for the Russians, when he said, "I know that the Swedes" (a mere handful of men when compared with the Russians, to whom they were opposed,) "will beat us for a long time, but at last they will teach us to beat them." Fighting almost in their own country, with ample resources at hand, the American militia, possessed not only of physical, but moral power, (for the militia consists of the whole male population, many persons connected with the chief families in the United States, members of Congress, and lawyers, having actually served in the frontier war, to which I have alluded,) must, whenever their government thinks it an object of sufficient importance, easily be able to make themselves masters of Canada. Mr Clay, certainly one of the ablest statesmen in the United States, and who will, in all human probability, at no distant day, be the president of that great confederacy, has, during the last war, recorded his opinion on this subject in one of his celebrated speeches in Congress:—"We have (said he) the Canadas as much under our command, as Great Britain has the ocean. I would take the whole continent from them, and ask

them no favours. God has given us the power and the means."

For such a change we ought some day or other to be prepared, and to have our minds made up. The time for it has probably not yet arrived; but there are still subjects of sufficient moment at issue between the countries, viz. the free navigation of the river St Lawrence, which the government at Washington are anxious to establish, and the important question respecting the exercise of our right of impressment and search, either of which may, at any period that best suits the United States, afford legitimate grounds for national hostility.

The Americans have already, in the course of Mr Gallatin's negociations with Mr Canning in 1826, made a claim to the free navigation of the St Lawrence, which, however, did not lead to any result; but it is not, I apprehend, at all likely, that, when it is seriously insisted on, it will involve us in war. The St Lawrence is the outlet of the great American Mediterranean Sea, in which, and on the banks of which, the United States have more extensive property, and far more valuable establishments, than Canada, and our other American colonies in that quarter. At the present day there is no great chance that any administration would be supported in going to war about a right of this kind. The Danes might, with equal justice, refuse to give Russia an entry to the Baltic, or the British at Gibraltar to seal up the Mediterranean, as Canada to keep the navigation of the

St Lawrence closed against the people of the adjoining states.

The rights of impressment and of search involve far more important considerations. It is not easy to justify their exercise on abstract principles; but if it is essential to our safety,—and if our dominion of the seas, which enabled us to oppose during the last war the only invincible obstacle to the total subjugation of Europe by France, cannot, as is conceived, be maintained without it,—it will never be given up without a most serious struggle. Still it is undeniable that the enforcement of those rights is attended with most harassing, and sometimes ruinous, consequences to other nations, and that the Americans have been most of all exposed to their humiliating and galling operation. It was one of the causes of the last war with the United States; but at the treaty of Ghent in 1814, was not considered by the American negociators as a sufficient reason for continuing the war after peace was re-established in Europe, and the annoyance had, of course, for the time being, ceased. Mr Jefferson's understanding of the nature of the peace is thus recorded in his letter to Mr Madison, then President of the United States:—"I presume, that, having spared to the pride of England, her formal acknowledgment of the atrocity of impressment in an article of the treaty, she will concur in a convention for relinquishing it. Without this, she must understand that the present is but a truce, determinable on the first act of impressment of an American citizen committed by any officer of her's."

No sort of admission of our right was conceded; and the discussion is thus only suspended, until we again attempt to enforce it in the course of some future European war in which we may be engaged; and then the cool, calculating people of the United States, will come forward at the season that suits them best, and make an appeal to arms, rather than again submit to the degradation of having, in time of peace, their ships searched, and their coasts blockaded. Whenever such a state of things occurs, the frontier of Canada will be the field of battle; and the result of the war, so far as respects our American possessions, can hardly be a matter of doubt.

This view of matters is not unimportant for persons emigrating to Canada, especially to Upper Canada, all of whom, it should be known, will be enrolled and trained as militiamen, that is to say, will have to serve as common soldiers in the event of a future war between Great Britain and the United States. The banks of the Niagara are altogether on the boundary line of Upper Canada, which is unquestionably, with this exception, that province of the British territory the best adapted for emigrants, both in point of soil and climate, and in other respects.

The United States now possess a force of 1,200,000 militia, while their regular army consists only of 6000 men; but the late war has given them officers fully able to render effective their militia force whenever their services are required. While attending to the description of their military force, may we not consider whether

it be impossible for us to learn, on this subject, a lesson of economy from this prosperous transatlantic nation? Would our security be put to hazard, if, rather than continue our present grievous taxation, or so much of it as is required for maintaining a great standing army, we were to have all the male population of a certain age trained to arms, and well-officered, as to which we cannot for a long period to come have any difficulty? When occasion called for it, a sufficient army could at any time be formed from such a militia, quite as much to be relied on as a permanent force, which has not actually been employed for fifteen or twenty years. I have already had opportunities to see parties of the American militia at drill, and certainly they do not appear to me more effective-looking than the awkward squads of the Edinburgh Volunteers thirty or forty years ago; but I was told that in this country it is not at all considered necessary to make militiamen disciplined soldiers, in the strict acceptation of that term, in times of profound peace. The skeleton and the numbers are always kept up, and great attention is paid to make every member of the corps a good marksman; but correctness in manœuvring, or any thing like perfection in training, is not expected. Were their services wanted, they would have sufficient warning to prepare clothing, and to be thoroughly drilled. I know that it is said that a standing army is necessary for our colonies, and that our colonies are all important, as affording nurseries for our seamen; but I am mistaken if the time be not now fast approaching when it will be questioned,

whether any colony is worth preserving, which yields no revenue to the mother country, which does not, in short, pay for the protection afforded?

Canada has already cost us many millions; and, at a time when it has been proposed to spend millions on fortifications, and when we are at this moment disbursing immense sums on public works in that country, the ordinary annual expence of which cannot be rated at less than half a million, it may well be asked, *cui bono?* The money expended on Canada, and our other American possessions, if laid out at compound interest, would have gone far towards the payment of the national debt, and our commerce would have been carried on on terms equally advantageous to us. This is abundantly proved by our commercial relations with the free states of America; and if our commercial relations with Canada, and our other American colonies, would in like manner not be diminished by their becoming free states, or being incorporated with the American confederacy, it is not easy to see how the ships employed in the trade with the colonies afford better or greater nurseries for seamen, than those employed in the trade with the United States or South America.

These remarks, however, refer to a great public question, too extensive to be discussed here, but a question which the prosperity of the country, as connected with the depressed state of our finances, will soon force on public attention. Canada is not only a prodigious burden on the revenue of Great Britain, but the monopoly of the timber trade, which we have most

unwisely created in her favour, forces our builders to use timber very liable to the dry rot, and inferior in every respect to that which we can obtain on far cheaper terms from the Baltic. The loss which the naval service at one time sustained from having recourse to Canada timber in building vessels of war is well known; but that practice has been long ago entirely discontinued by order of our government. If Canada be unable to maintain her own independence, and desires our protection in preference to that of the United States, let her pay for it such a sum as will at least indemnify us; but it is quite monstrous that we, the overtaxed inhabitants of Great Britain, should allow part of the sums annually drawn from us to be expended for the support of establishments in Canada,—a country which not only makes us no return, but has the address to impose on us a bad article at a greatly increased price.

The public works alluded to, as at present in progress in Canada, are the Welland Canal, and the Rideau Canal,—works certainly of great magnificence; and the first undoubtedly of great commercial importance to Canada. A communication is to be afforded by the Welland Canal for vessels as large as navigate the lakes, viz. of the burden of 125 tons, and for steam-vessels, between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, by a line of canal about forty-three miles long, in which there are 334 feet of lockage, and great natural obstacles, so that the inconvenience which the Falls of Niagara create,

so far as internal commerce is concerned, will be removed. The estimated expence is about L. 200,000; it was set agoing by the Canada Land Company,—a company formed in 1825 for the purchase and improvement of the Crown revenues, and other land in Upper Canada; but the British government are paying a considerable share of the canal expence, and contributing largely in land. There are two prodigious excavations in the course of the operations; one of them called, *par excellence*, the Deep Cut, (the greatest artificial work in America, except the Desague in Mexico,) passing through an almost abrupt rocky summit of twenty-seven feet above the canal bottom.

The expence of the Rideau Canal has been estimated at half a million, but will probably absorb twice that sum, and has been altogether defrayed by the British government. I had conceived, until I came to this country, that the object of this canal was to complete the navigation between the eastern part of Lake Ontario and Montreal, which is interrupted, except for a very inconvenient and dangerous description of boats, by the rapids, called Longue Sault, Cedars, and the Cascades, on the St Lawrence; but I find that the canal is carried in a circuitous direction, in order not to be liable to interruption by a foreign enemy. It runs from Kingston, at the east end of Lake Ontario, to the great Ottawa River, which joins the St Lawrence above Montreal, and it has been undertaken solely with a view to the transportation of troops and military stores to Upper Canada in the event of a war.

Independently of the canals, great additions to the Quebec fortifications have, as already mentioned, been projected by the British government since the war, some parts of which have already been executed. The total expence of these works, as estimated, amounts to several millions; but it seems almost impossible that it can now be seriously contemplated to carry this scheme into execution. It is obviously only by a system of good, steady, and conciliatory government, that this colony, which has been chiefly colonized, until within the few last years, from the United States, can, if worth retaining, be preserved. The people must be interested in the maintenance of the government by its cheapness, impartiality, efficiency, and the purity of the administration of justice. At present all are dissatisfied; the original settlers with nothing more than the way in which the sufferers on the frontier during the last war have been treated. The people sustained prodigious losses, and encountered hardships of the severest kind; but little more than one-half of the sums which they maintain to be due to them have been granted; and no appeal to any court of law is allowed for the purpose of ascertaining the justice of their claims. The whole arrangement has been made, as they state, in the most arbitrary and partial manner. Between L. 200,000 and L. 300,000 was the amount paid from the taxes levied from the inhabitants of Britain for this purpose. The recent governments are charged,—with what truth I have not the means of ascertaining, owing to the shortness of our stay in Canada,—with great unfairness in the ma-

nagement and disposal of the public lands, and with bad policy, in discouraging settlements from the United States.

These and other causes, such as the reservation of large portions of land in the settled country by the Crown for clergy and other appropriations, in consequence of which long tracts of road fall to be made by the actual settlers, have retarded the general improvement of the province. The land on the side of the Niagara river, opposite to Canada, contains about thirty inhabitants on each square mile; while that part of Upper Canada contains not more than six.

I am aware, that it has appeared to some persons, who have visited this colony at no distant period, that the resources of Canada are even now sufficient to enable her not only to support herself, but, by the adoption of a judicious system in the disposal of the public lands, and in the general administration of the government, to yield a surplus revenue to Great Britain. If this be so, all objections to afford her sufficient protection may be removed; but, if the experience of the past is to serve as a guide for the future, such a result seems improbable.

There is a superabundance of hotels in the neighbourhood of the Falls of Niagara,—another large house, not far from Mr Forsyth's hotel, on the Canada side,—and two or three hotels at Manchester, a village on the New York side of the river. Mr Forsyth's hotel is large, containing accommodation for about 150 people; the system of boarding the same as in the American

hotels. About twenty people were in Mr Forsyth's hotel when we were there; among others Captain Brant, an Indian, a chief of the Mohawk tribe, who is in the British military service. He has so entirely given up the manners of the Indians, that I should not have discovered him to be one of the original inhabitants of this country; and it was not until after I had been told who he was that I recognized their features. He is a tall good-looking man, between thirty and forty years old. He has a comfortable residence on a grant of land not far from hence, which his father obtained from the British government in acknowledgment of his services during the revolutionary war. The present possessor served as a lieutenant during the late war, and enjoys the rank. His father translated the Gospel of St John into the Mohawk language, and did much towards the civilization of the small number of his once powerful tribe that now remain. They have a church. The clergyman is of their own nation. The Gospel of St Luke has been more recently translated into the Mohawk language by a chief named Norton, who was known in Britain, and was killed in the last war.

We were unable, which to us appeared singular in a country abounding in the finest apples, to get a drop of tolerable cyder at any of our stopping-places from Albany, until we reached Mr Forsyth's hotel, where it is abundant and good, and produced as small beer is in Britain, plentifully in time of dinner. A very large quantity of cyder is annually made in all the northern part of the United States, but it is immediately used,

the quality not being such as to insure its keeping. At Newark, a village in New Jersey, not far from New York, the best cyder is said to be made. We tasted it at New York; but it did not seem to us to be at all equal to the best English cyder.

From Niagara falls we proceeded by the stage first to Queenston, (seven miles,) near which a monument has been erected to the memory of Sir Isaac Brock, from the top of which, about 120 feet high, there is a noble view of Lake Ontario and the adjoining country, and from thence to the village of Newark, (seven miles,) formerly called Fort George, on the Niagara river. This is a very pleasant ride, and the road smooth and good. Fort Niagara is on the American side of the river, opposite to Newark, as Lewiston is to Queenston.

There is a landing-place near Newark on the Niagara, very near its outlet into Lake Ontario, from which we embarked in the steam-boat Queenston, to proceed to Lower Canada, intending to travel entirely in steam vessels, unless at those parts of the St Lawrence where stages, in communication with the steam vessels, are in waiting to forward passengers to the next open reach of the river. The great basin of the St Lawrence contains in mass more than one-half of the fresh water on this planet,—the solid contents in cubic feet of the Lakes Superior, Huron, Michigan, Erie, Ontario, and St Lawrence being, according to Darby, 1,547,011,792,360,000, and the superficial area in square miles being 72,930, a quantity of water which would

form a cubic column of nearly twenty-two miles on each side.

We found, immediately on getting into the steamboat on the lake, a great change of manners, the majority of passengers being British. A glass of wine was taken in time of dinner, and two or three glasses after it, for which an absurdly high price was charged. The travelling, however, so far as respects the stages, steam-boats; and hotels in Canada, so much resembled that in the United States, with one only difference, its increased expence, that it is unnecessary to go into details, especially as the object of these pages is to communicate information respecting the United States, and my stay in Lower Canada was not of sufficient duration to enable me to see much of the country or of the people. I had frequent opportunities, before revising these notes, of satisfying myself as to the correctness of the details in relation to the State of New York, in which I subsequently made various excursions, and resided for a considerable period.

Lake Ontario is celebrated for its depth, which is in some places unfathomable, and for the clearness of its water. Its length is about 170 miles, and its circumference 467; its height above the level of the sea 230 feet. Little York, the capital of Upper Canada, lies on its north-western shore. Kingston, the best harbour on the north-eastern side, belongs to the British. It was to the fleet here that we last war sent out quantities of water casks, in the belief that Lake Ontario was a salt water lake. From Kingston to Brockville, the lake,

which narrows at last to two miles, in a low lying country on all sides, is studded with multitudes of islands, many of them very picturesque, far exceeding the number of a thousand, generally allotted to it. The passage through them is interesting, though sometimes intricate. They are almost all covered with wood, and the vegetation very luxuriant. Nothing is wanting but the vicinity of mountains and hills to make this the most beautiful scenery in the world. The shores are fine, rising by a gentle and regular acclivity. Vessels of 600 tons reach Montreal, which is above 500 miles from the Gulf of St Lawrence. The ocean tides penetrate 432 miles in the main channel of the St Lawrence, to a point between Montreal and Quebec.

From Montreal we crossed the St Lawrence obliquely to La Prairie, a village at the distance of nine miles, on the south side of the river, in a steam-boat. Although she was not of great power, we had to contend with a rapid of about fifteen feet in three miles, but we did not find much difficulty. At times it looked to a stranger doubtful, whether we should be able to contend with so powerful an obstacle to our progress, which, however, at one place retarded us so much, that we did not advance much more than fifty yards in fifty minutes. The road from La Prairie to St John's, on the Richelieu river, the outlet from Lake Champlain, passes for almost the whole distance of sixteen miles, through a flat, sandy, ill-cultivated country; houses and fences entirely out of repair; and the inhabitants as indolent-looking a set of beings as I have ever seen. St

John's is a village of about 800 inhabitants, and has a British collector of customs. It is the point of departure for steam-boats to Whitehall, on Wood Creek, at the south end of the lake in the United States, on the direct thoroughfare to New York. The difficulty and danger of the passage up the St Lawrence have made the route by the New York packets, and from New York by the Hudson and the Lake Champlain, very generally used by the British proceeding from England to Canada.

I never observed land more in want of manure than this part of Canada, originally of indifferent soil, and now totally worn out by over-cropping, and altogether in the most wretched state, agriculturally. Yet here the manure in a great stable-yard belonging to the hotel where we lodge was thrown into the river, and obviously little use of it is made any where. We observed in this neighbourhood women at work in the fields, which is never to be seen in the United States.

CHAPTER IX.

Journey from Canada to Glen's Falls, in the State of New York.—Franklin Steam-Boat on Lake Champlain—Cross the Boundary to the United States—Plattsburg—Naval Action on the Lake—Port Kent—Burlington—Burning of Phœnix Steam-Boat—Crown Point—Ticonderago—Abercrombie's Expedition—Lord Howe Killed—Burgoyne's Capture of Ticonderago—Whitehall—Burgoyne's March from Whitehall—Sandyhill—Indian Barbarities—Employment of Indians in War—Glen's Falls—Lake George—Driver of Barouche—Caldwell—Overcharge for Boat on the Lake—Conversation with driver of Barouche—Baron Dieskau's Defeat at Fort William Henry—The Bloody Pond—Montcalm's Attack, followed by Capitulation of Fort William Henry, and Barbarities of Indians—System of Schools in New York State, Connecticut, &c.—Presidential Election—Jefferson's Sentiments respecting the Contest between Jackson and Adams—Settlement of the Country—High Sheriff of the County—Advertisement of a Candidate for the Office.

From 17th to 20th September.

THE Franklin steam-boat, which is large and well managed, conveyed us from St John's to Whitehall, a distance of 150 miles, over Lake Champlain. The provisions were excellent; and here, as in every place where we have yet been in the United States, places were left for us at the head of the table, on account of our being foreigners. I notice this particularly on this occasion, because there were several persons of

eminence in the boat,—part of the family of the Attorney-General of the United States, and several clergymen. The Isle Aux Noix, an island in the lake, about eleven miles from St John's, and consisting of about ninety acres, is the frontier post of the British. It is low lying, but there is no elevated ground in the neighbourhood. Fever and ague prevail here to an alarming extent.

A few miles above this post, we again entered the territories of the United States. A custom-house officer was on board of the boat, who was satisfied with our declaration, that our portmanteaus contained nothing but travelling baggage, and did not require them to be opened. We had been treated with the same civility at Black-Rock, on our entering Canada, by the British custom-house officer. About thirty-five miles from Isle Aux Noix, Plattsburg, a considerable village in New York State, is situated, in the neighbourhood of which the American and British flotillas on the lake had a severe engagement in 1814, which was attended with disastrous consequences to the British,—their commander, Captain Downie, being killed,—their fleet captured,—and Sir George Prevost, with a large army invading the United States from Canada, forced precipitately to retreat. This expedition, in which we sustained so great loss, was even more rashly determined on than that of Burgoyne in 1777. The object of both expeditions was the same, viz. to cut off the New England States from the Confederacy; but the population of New England, which consisted comparatively of a handful of men in

the time of the revolutionary war, was in 1814 greater than that of one-half of the states at the period of Burgoyne's invasion. We were gulled on the last occasion by stories of the unpopularity of the war at Boston, and in other parts of New England, and were presumptuous enough to suppose, that we might detach this valuable part of the American republic from the union. In this vain attempt we made prodigious sacrifices of blood and treasure.

At the distance of ten miles from Plattsburg, we passed Port Kent, a thriving village, near which are considerable iron-works. Mr Watson, one of the proprietors, who resides at Port Kent, and was a passenger in the boat with us, gave us a very hearty invitation to go ashore, and visit his house, that we might see the works, which we were sorry that it was not in our power to accept. On the opposite side of the lake lies Burlington Bay, and the town or village of Burlington, in the State of Vermont, both remarkable for their beauty. Not far from Burlington, the Phœnix steamboat, when employed in the conveyance of passengers, was burned a few years ago, in circumstances peculiarly trying. It happened in the middle of a severe gale, and when the captain, ashore in bad health, had substituted in his place his son, a young man of twenty. At midnight, the vessel caught fire, but by good management, and presence of mind, the juvenile commander succeeded in saving the passengers and crew,—he himself was the last person picked up, floating on a piece of wood, almost exhausted. Burlington contains

8000 or 4000 inhabitants, and is the largest village on the lake. The houses are particularly neat and clean-looking, all painted white. The situation is on a bank rising above the lake.

Crown Point, where some old works are still visible, is about thirty-six miles from Burlington, near the head of the lake. It was originally occupied by the French as a military position,—was captured by the British in 1759,—and was afterwards alternately in their possession and that of the Americans till the peace of 1783. The views in this part of the lake are strikingly varied at every change of situation, and the scenery marked and bold. The Vermont hills, called the Green Hills, are the highest on the eastern coast of America; some of them 6000 feet high.

Lake Champlain is nowhere above six miles broad. It becomes narrow above Crown Point, and more and more contracted all the way to the ruins of the well-known fortress of Ticonderago, twenty-four miles from Whitehall, and to Mount Defiance, on the opposite side of the inlet of the lake.

The fortress of Ticonderago was first constructed by the French in 1756. It stands on a narrow peninsula between Lake Champlain and the passage into Lake George. The works are about 200 feet above the lake, and of considerable extent, and the ruins still very interesting. The object of the French in erecting it, was to distress the British settlements from this position; and, with the assistance of the Indians, they so frequently succeeded, that an expedition, under Ge-

neral Abercrombie, was in 1758 dispatched to reduce the fort. Lord Howe, a fine young man, devoted to his profession, and a great favourite with the soldiers, was the second in command. He was the grandson of George I.—his mother, Lady Howe, being the daughter of Lady Darlington, when she was the mistress of the King. He made himself quite the idol of the army, by his unceasing attention to their wants, and by his sharing with all ranks every self-denying regulation which he established. Mrs Grant enumerates some of those privations, which now appear to us sufficiently curious. Nothing at this period was reckoned so ornamental as to have the hair,—the more abundant the better,—put up in a great queue, and the whole powdered and pomatumed. Though himself remarkable for fine hair, Lord Howe had it cut short; and the whole army followed his example and were cropped. He allowed no furniture to be carried on the march, and showed them how unnecessary it was before setting out, by having his officers to dine with him in his tent, where they found neither chair nor table, nor any furniture but bear skins for a carpet. He always wore an ammunition short coat with no gold on it. This valuable officer was unfortunately killed in one of the first skirmishes with the French, about two miles from Ticonderago, before General Abercrombie's fine army of 16,000 men reached it. This army embarked at the south end of Lake George, on 5th July, on board of 125 boats, and 900 batteaux. Lord Howe was killed soon after landing on the following day, at the outlet of the lake. The party by

whom he had been opposed were defeated; and the army proceeded next day, without waiting for their artillery, and with the greatest confidence, to attack the fort, defended only by 3000 men. General Abercrombie relied on the report of his engineers, that the works could be taken by assault, but the assailants had to carry an impenetrable abbatis formed of trees, felled so as to interweave their branches in front of a ditch, eight or nine feet high, and were exposed to such a tremendous fire of small arms and artillery, while the enemy were perfectly secure within their entrenchments, that the British army was finally obliged to retreat, with the loss of 2000 men,—the 42d regiment cut to pieces; every officer killed or wounded. Such disastrous consequences had not, it would seem, given us a sufficient warning, as the lamentable issue of our attack on the American lines at New Orleans, in circumstances very similar, in the year 1815, unfortunately proved.

The French, however, in the following year, 1759, quietly abandoned the fort on the approach of the British under General Amherst, with a great force; and it remained with the British till 1775, when the Americans took it. They retained possession till 1777, when General Burgoyne, on his march from Canada, conceiving it to be commanded by Mount Defiance,—a hill 800 feet high on the opposite side of the lake,—had a battery of heavy cannon, with great labour, carried up the hill, and having proved it to be within range of the guns by firing a few shots upon a vessel in the lake, the Americans in the following night evacuated

the place. Since this period, Ticonderago has not been the scene of hostile strife. The garrison ground, consisting of 600 acres, and the forts and barracks, are now the property of Mr Pell of New York, who prevents any farther dilapidation of the works, and has put the whole in good order,—especially the garden, formerly called the King's garden, to which he has been at pains to bring varieties of trees, shrubs, and fruits.

The passage on Woodcreek to Whitehall is in many places singularly winding and narrow. Whitehall itself is a small low-lying place,—created entirely by its situation at the end of the navigation from Lake Champlain, and by its neighbourhood to the point of 'unction of the Champlain Canal with the lake.

General Burgoyne occupied Whitehall on his march from Canada towards Saratoga. He proceeded from Whitehall southward by Fort Anne, and Sandyhill on the Hudson. We travelled along this road on leaving Whitehall, part of which, still called Burgoyne's road, was made by that General, by laying logs transversely in wet ground, for the conveyance of his cannon and baggage waggons.

Sandyhill is a small, very pleasantly situated, village close to the Hudson. We came so far in the stage from Whitehall with some very agreeable travellers; especially a lawyer from New York, well acquainted with the historical facts which have rendered the whole line of country, from Canada by Lake Champlain to New York, classical ground to the Americans.

Sandyhill is regularly laid out, and composed of

clean-looking houses, surrounding a beautiful central green. It was in former times the scene of two shocking instances of Indian barbarity. The first occurred in the course of the French war, that ended by the capture of Quebec in 1759. Mr Schoonhoven, and six or seven Americans, had the misfortune to be taken prisoners by a party of the savages near Sandyhill. They were conducted to the central green, and ordered to sit down in a row upon a log of wood. The Indians then began very deliberately to tomahawk their victims, commencing at one end of the log, and splitting the skulls of their prisoners in regular succession, while the survivors, compelled to sit still and to witness the awful fate of their companions, awaited their own in unutterable horror. Mr Schoonhoven was the last but one upon the end of the log, opposite to where the massacre commenced. The work of death had already proceeded to him, and the lifted tomahawk was ready to descend, when a chief gave a signal to stop the butchery. Then approaching Mr Schoonhoven, he mildly said, "Do you not remember, that at such a time, when your young men were dancing, poor Indians came, and wanted to dance too; your young men said, 'No! Indians shall not dance with us;' but you (for it seems this chief had recognized his features only in the critical moment) you said, Indians shall dance; now, I will show you that Indians can remember kindness." This providential recollection saved the life of Mr Schoonhoven, and of the other survivor.

The other occurrence was one well known at the

time, and of most aggravated atrocity, the murder of the young and beautiful Jane M'Crea. This unfortunate lady was betrothed to Captain Jones, an American refugee, an officer in General Burgoyne's regiment; and when the American army retreated, had the imprudence to remain behind, in the expectation of meeting her lover. Being anxious to obtain possession of his expected bride, whose residence in the heart of the contending armies, and of hostile Indians, subjected her to danger, Captain Jones dispatched a party of Indians, in whom he thought he could confide, to conduct her from the neighbourhood of Sandyhill to Fort Anne, at the distance of a few miles, then (in 1777) the head quarters of the British army. She set off, under their escort, on horseback, in order to be immediatedly married to Captain Jones; but had not proceeded above half a mile when a second party of Indians, also sent by Captain Jones, who was uneasy on account of the delay that had taken place, met them. The two parties had a collision as to the reward, a barrel of rum, promised to the party which brought Miss M'Crea to the camp, at the end of which the unhappy victim was found tomahawked and scalped. Captain Jones did not long survive the object of his affections. He died of a broken heart.

General Gates, the American commander, did not fail to avail himself of the opportunity afforded by the perpetration of so horrible an outrage, to remonstrate with General Burgoyne, rather in exaggerated terms, against his bringing with him to the invasion of the

American states, hordes of savages, whose established warfare was that of promiscuous massacre. His allusion to Miss M'Crea is in these words:—"The miserable fate of Miss M'Crea was peculiarly aggravated by her being dressed to receive her promised husband, but met her murderer employed by you." General Burgoyne thus replied, "In regard to Miss M'Crea, her fall wanted not the tragic display you have laboured to give it, to make it as sincerely lamented and abhorred by me, as it can be by the tenderest of her friends. The fact was no premeditated barbarity. On the contrary, two chiefs, who had brought her off for the purpose of security, not of violence to her person, disputed which should be her guard, and, in a fit of savage passion, in one from whose hands she was snatched, the unhappy woman became the victim. Upon the first intelligence of this event, I obliged the Indians to deliver the murderer into my hands; and though to have punished him by our laws or principles of justice would have been perhaps unprecedented, he certainly should have suffered an ignominious death, had I not been convinced by my circumstances and observation, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that a pardon, under the terms which I presented, and they accepted, would be more efficacious than an execution, to prevent similar mischiefs."

It is not, however, to the credit of the humanity or civilization, either of the British or of the Americans, that they have always employed, and continue to employ, the Indians as auxiliaries when they go to war

with each other; but although there is no apology for the atrocity of Lord Cornwallis's famous letter of September 1780, in which, writing to one of his officers, he announced his *satisfaction* "that the Indians had pursued and *scalped* many of the enemy," the Americans have no good reason, and are not entitled, to find fault, as I know they have done on all occasions, with the British for doing that which they themselves do. The Indians, in the revolutionary war, no doubt flocked in greater numbers to the British than to the American standard; but the guilt consisted in at all employing savages, who could not be controlled nor prevented from murdering and treating the vanquished with every description of barbarous ferocity. The French were chargeable with the same inhuman practice, while they possessed Canada, in their wars with the British. It can only be put a final stop to by a convention between the belligerents, stipulating, that Indians are in no circumstances to be employed. If they are resorted to for assistance on one side, it becomes absolutely necessary to employ them on the other.

It had been our intention to proceed southward from Ticonderago by Lake George, but we found that the steam-boat on that lake was discontinued, on account of the lateness of the season, and were therefore obliged to make a circuit by Whitehall, Sandyhill, and Glen's Falls, four miles from Sandyhill, and situated on the Hudson, before we could get by a road to Caldwell, at the head of Lake George. We reached Glen's

Falls, in time for a late dinner, on the 18th September, and found Mr Threehouse's hotel a very good one, and the host, a French Canadian, very obliging, not at all disposed to make any difficulty in getting us broiled chickens, and other good things, though a long time after the regular dinner hour. A very good female servant waited at dinner, sitting, of course, at all times when she was doing nothing for us. This practice was more observed by us, being in private rooms, which we had here, than at a table with boarders.

The Falls of the Hudson, close to this village, are well worth seeing. The descent is above sixty feet, the water separating at the bottom into three channels, and dashing over great flat layers of black limestone rock. They are best seen from the pendant wooden bridge, 160 yards broad, the arches of which are supported on pillars, consisting of large beams laid across each other, resting on a foundation of limestone, cut through by the Hudson. The village is clean, containing probably 1000 people. The district of country is reckoned very cheap. Boarding for mechanics or labourers at a dollar and a half per week; and for this sum animal food allowed three times a-day.

Finding that there was not at present any public conveyance from Glen's Falls to Caldwell, on Lake George, nine miles, we contracted, on the evening of our arrival, with a stage-hirer for a barouche to carry us next morning at seven to Lake George.

In the morning, I found a barouche, rather a better-looking one than usual, in all respects, already at

the hotel door, when I appeared before the appointed hour to give notice, that, on account of the indisposition of one of our party, it would be impossible to set out before nine o'clock. That will not suit me so well, said the driver, as, after hearing what I had said, he was driving from the door. Such a remark from him struck me at the moment as strange, but made of course no great impression. At nine, we started. Soon afterwards, the driver leaned back from the driving-seat, which was not much above the level of the seats in the barouche, and addressed some general remarks to us as strangers; but the sunshine was at the time so overpowering, and one of our party still so much annoyed with headach, that he must have observed us indisposed to enter into conversation with him, and he afterwards contented himself with answering any questions which we put to him on our way. He showed us, however, that he had perfect knowledge of the country, and of the dreadful scenes of which it had in former times been the theatre, and that he was a very different person in point of education and information from the coachmen of our own country; but he had taken the hint, which he had conceived that we intended to give him, and now confined his answers pretty closely to our questions. The country is sandy and stony, but there are fine hills in the distance, and the prospect of the lake, surrounded by mountains, very beautiful, in descending from higher grounds on Caldwell, the village, or rather county town, at the south-western edge of the lake. Caldwell has been but recently built, but

it contains public buildings of all kinds,—a jail, being the county town of the county of Warren,—a newspaper,—and a great and charmingly situated hotel for strangers coming to see the lake or to fish. Having arrived at Caldwell, we hired a small boat to take us out on the lake, and directed our charioteer to have the carriage ready for us as soon as a signal, which we arranged, should appear from our boat. The lake very much resembles the lakes of Westmoreland, and some of the Scotch lakes. Hilly country (mountainous it is called here, though none of it is above 1500 feet high,) surrounds the lake on all sides. The shores are finely broken, and the lake itself sprinkled with a great number of beautiful islands, on one of which, where we landed, there is a tea-house. The waters of the lake are deep, and most transparent; and fish, especially red trout, is excellent, and most abundant. The lake is about thirty-six miles long, of very various breadth, nowhere exceeding four miles. On coming to the shore from the lake, the money which I had agreed to pay for the boat was refused. The sum promised, we were told, was for the boat itself, but not for navigating it. There was no redress, and we submitted without much grumbling to what we considered an imposition, remarking, that this was the first time the Yankees had come Yorkshire over us. This settled, we were even more at a loss, for our driver was nowhere to be found, and we were ready to set out. Our signal from the boat had never been noticed. We did not know how to proceed, when a bystander, taking pity on us, said,

the driver is probably in the jail, pointing out the way to it. We set off in that direction, and met him coming from it. He made no excuse or apology, but set about preparing our conveyance. As soon as it was ready, we got into it, but the driver showed no symptoms of setting out. We asked the cause. He was waiting, he said, for the little boy whom he had brought out with him on the driving-seat, and who would presently be with us. We began to think that the driver was disposed to treat us rather cavalierly; and I had almost asked him, whether he looked to the boy, for whom he was waiting, or to us, for the hire of the conveyance; but I recollected in time, that all altercation with the natives ought, if possible, to be avoided by persons travelling in a foreign country, and that the trouble of obtaining redress, even in cases which required it more, made it much wiser to submit in silence to a little inconvenience. We therefore sat for some time longer, whether patiently or impatiently I need not say, when I notice, that we were all well again, with a good appetite, and dinner waiting for us at Glen's Falls. In the meanwhile, we applied to the driver to give us a little of the information he had volunteered in the morning, but we found him apparently not much disposed to be communicative. He had not, we presumed, forgot the reception we had given him in the morning. This was provoking, as Caldwell and its neighbourhood comprehend the grounds on which the dreadful combats between the French and British, between the years 1750 and 1760, were

fought. We succeeded, however, at last, by being more than usually communicative ourselves, in satisfying the driver, that we were not saucy travellers, and he got into good humour with us. The weary boy made his appearance, and we were off. The driver soon showed himself so well informed, that all anxiety about our dinner left us, and we stopped and stopped again to have pointed out to us, on the spot, the scenes of those battles, which he described almost as if he had been an eye-witness. Caldwell itself stands so nearly on the site of the ruins of the British Fort William Henry, that the batteries erected to attack it at the period alluded to cross the street of the present village.

The first attack was attempted by the French under Baron Dieskau in 1755. General Johnson was here with a considerable army, and with Hendrick, the chief of the Mohawks, on his way to attack Crown Point on Lake Champlain, then occupied by the French. Dieskau was sent to oppose him. On 8th September 1755, Johnson sent out a party of 1200 men under Colonel Williams early in the morning, to meet Dieskau, who was approaching, but the latter having placed the Indians in ambuscade, Williams was induced, by the apparent inferiority of the force opposed to him, to advance too far, and he and his party were defeated with severe loss in a defile, which was shewn us. He, as well as Hendrick, were among the slain. This success encouraged Dieskau to proceed to the instant attack of Johnson, but Dieskau was in his turn repulsed with great slaughter, and was himself killed. He was first

of all wounded in the leg, and seen leaning against a tree; he began to feel for his watch to deliver it up to a soldier approaching him, but the soldier, supposing him to be searching for a pistol, shot him. On the evening of the same day, that part of Dieskau's army which made good their retreat, when resting on the very ground on which they had in the morning defeated Colonel Williams, fell in with Captain M'Ginnis, who had been sent from Fort Edward, near Sandyhill, with some troops to Johnson's assistance, and were totally routed. Captain M'Ginnis was, however, himself killed.

This was a memorable day in the annals of the French and British American warfare. Three battles fought almost on the same ground. Three commanders and an Indian chief killed, and Johnson wounded. The barbarities committed by the Indians attached to both armies were shocking to humanity. The road to Glen's Falls passes through the heart of the battle ground. The hill from which the French poured down in the morning is to this day called the French Mountain, and the spot where Colonel Williams fell is called William's Rock. Close by the road, and on its north side, is a circular pond, 200 or 300 feet in diameter, shaped like a bowl, which was the common sepulchre of the slain, the dead bodies of most of those killed being thrown into it in undistinguished confusion. From that time to the present it has been called by no other name than the *Bloody Pond.*

Two years after Dieskau's attack, Fort William

Henry was besieged by a more powerful army. The Marquis of Montcalm in 1757 conducted an army of 10,000 men to invest it. Colonel Munro, the British commander, made a gallant defence, but was at last obliged to capitulate with 3000 men. In the face of the capitulation, the Indians attached to Montcalm's army pursued the garrison on their retreat, dragged the men from the ranks, plundered all without distinction, and murdered almost the whole, men, women, and children, in the most savage manner, in the same defile which had been the field of battle in 1755. Montcalm levelled Fort William Henry, which has never been rebuilt. He was generally at the time blamed for not using such means as he possessed to restrain the Indians, and was even suspected of winking at the enormities they committed. He fell gloriously two years afterwards at the head of the French army, in the celebrated battle with Wolfe, which, by annihilating the French dominion in North America, put a final end to the frequent and formidable irruptions, by Lakes Champlain and George, of the French and their Indian allies into the British North American settlements.

Mr Spencer, for we found that to be the name of our charioteer, made an easy transition from the battles of Lake George to those on the Hudson, fought by Burgoyne, about thirty miles from hence, on his well known unsuccessful expedition from Canada during the revolutionary war; but, as we intend to make an excursion from Saratoga springs to the scene of Burgoyne's misfortunes, it is unnecessary at present to enter into de-

tails. Mr Spencer, finding that we were from Edinburgh, afterwards described to us with great minuteness the system of schools and of teaching at present established in the State of New York. The public funds appropriated to this purpose are great,—about 200,000 dollars in money of annual income,—besides about a million of acres of land, which are rapidly increasing in value. 500,000 children were last year taught, for about eight months of the year, out of a population of about 1,800,000, of which the State of New York is understood to consist. Its extent is 46,000 square miles. In all the states, the provisions for public schools, though varying much, are very ample. The greatest fund is in Connecticut in New England, in which, with a population of only 275,000, and an extent of only 4764 square miles, the amount exceeds two millions of dollars. The system of teaching at present in use at the High School of Edinburgh was, we found, much better known to Mr Spencer than to myself, though educated at that school. His attention had, he said, been particularly called to that school, because the citizens of Glen's Falls had been considering various plans for a high school, and had given the preference to the Edinburgh school as their model. He expatiated on the advantages of education being placed in the power of all, especially in such a government as theirs, where all men had public duties to discharge, and no man was in station or rank inferior to his neighbour. Upon the approaching presidential election his opinion was very decided, preferring the plain republicanism of

Jackson to Adams, originally a federalist, and who had so long mixed with European courts. Jefferson early predicted, that the contest would be decided not by Jackson's popularity as a general, but by the belief, that the vote would be between the old republican and federalist parties. He writes to Lafayette, on occasion of Jackson's first appearance as a candidate against Adams, that Jackson would get all those denominated of the old republican school, and Adams every federal vote. "You are not (he writes in 1823,) to believe that these two parties are amalgamated,—that the lion and the lamb are lying down together. The Hartford Convention,—the victory of New Orleans,—the peace of Ghent,—prostrated the name of federalism. Its votaries abandoned it through shame and mortification, and now call themselves republicans. But the name alone is changed; the principles are the same; for, in truth, the parties of Whig and Tory are those of nature. They exist in all countries, whether called by these names, or by those of aristocrats and democrats, —*cote droite*, and *cote gauche*,—ultras and radicals, serviles and liberals. The sickly, weakly, timid man fears the people, and is a tory by nature;—the healthy, strong, and bold, cherishes them, and is formed a whig by nature."

Mr Spencer gave us much interesting information respecting the habits of the agricultural part of the population of New York State and of New England, as to which we may be better able to judge with our own eyes after a longer residence in the country. There is

hardly a family engaged in the cultivation of the soil who do not send out emigrants to distant parts of the same state, or to other states, to clear lots of the forest, and make new settlements. The original settler frequently removes himself, leaving his improved land to members of his family, or selling it, but more generally, as his sons arrive at man's estate,—twenty-one years of age,—and marry, he sets them off to the wilderness in quest of new land, with a turn-out of a waggon or two, a rifle-gun, and such horses, oxen, cows, implements, and furniture, as he can spare, but with very little money, not more than enough to enable him to pay the government price for the land,—probably a dollar and a quarter per acre,—and to assist him in erecting his log-house and fences. All the Americans work expertly with the axe, and get up a house very quickly after they fix on a settlement. In a very few years, the settlement improved in this way,—that is to say, with houses and fences erected, and the wood in part cut, and in part burnt, so that the land is capable of yielding crops, —becomes worth, according to soil and situation, twenty or thirty dollars an acre.

At length we approached the door of our hotel, and all of us felt regret at the idea of so soon being deprived of the agreeable society of our charioteer. As soon as we got out of the carriage, when we were within hearing of each other, I applied for, and had, the sanction of my fellow-travellers, to beg him to favour us with his company at dinner, and to take a glass of wine with us. I hastened to the bar-room, where

I found him smoking a cigar. I preferred my request in the most civil terms I could think of. He looked at me for a moment, and then expressed great surprise, that a foreigner should have asked his driver to dine with him. I urged our anxiety to have a little more of his agreeable company, and promised, that we should endeavour to impart to him all the information we could give, relative to the institutions of our own country, in return for the valuable communications he had made to us. But he finally declined, with perfect civility, though, at the same time, with that sort of manner, which prevented any attempt to press him. "His family," he said, "expected him, and he must go home. Perhaps, Sir," he added, "you was not aware that the High Sheriff of the County was your driver to-day. We are very neighbourly here. The horses expected for you this morning had not come in, and I could not refuse my neighbour, mentioning his name, when he applied to me. I have good horses, and would have been sorry to disappoint a stranger." Having finished his cigar, Mr Spencer took leave of me with a shake of the hand. We found, on inquiry, that he was a general merchant in the village, and had mills and a store. His neighbours had singled him out,—not on account of his education, which was not superior to that of his fellow-citizens, but on account of his shrewdness and good character,—to make him a justice of peace, which confers the title of judge. As justice of peace he gave so great satisfaction that they promoted him to be their high sheriff. In the latter capacity he had business this

morning to transact at Caldwell, the county town, and where the jail committed to his charge is situated. This explains the anxiety he expressed to be off early. The little boy on the driving seat was the son of a prisoner in the jail, to whom he was carrying linens. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, let the cobbler stick to his last, has no part in the republican character of America. To please those whom that saying pleases, a play was got up in England at the close of the revolutionary war, in which persons holding the most distinguished places, and military commanders in America during the war, were represented as cobblers, tailors, &c. John Bull was delighted. He forgot his expenditure of 200 millions, the loss of his colonies, and their three millions of people; but a sly Yankee in the gallery roared out, "Great Britain drubbed by tailors, and cobblers, and tinkers, hurrah!" Honest John then found out after a moment's reflection, that he had been laughing at his own expence.

Washington himself was a country surveyor; Franklin a journeyman printer; General Greene a blacksmith; Roger Sherman, of the first congress that declared independence, was a shoemaker. Princes may make dukes, but all the kings in the world cannot make a Washington, a Franklin, or a Fulton.

Jefferson notices in one of his letters, that instances have occurred of a shoemaker, or other artisan, removed by the voice of his country from his work-bench into a chair of office, instantly commanding all the respect and obedience which the laws ascribe to his office.

It is not, however, to be taken for granted, that the high sheriff is always, or generally, as things now are, a person in Mr Spencer's circumstances or situation in life. He is more frequently, as we understand, a man of landed property, a farmer often possessed of a legal education. Such dignitaries are still, however, occasionally taken from all classes of the people, the nomination being with the people, with whom a person of popular manners and address, and of upright character, is more likely to succeed in this country than a merely wealthy man, or one of considerable possessions. The inhabitants of New York lately elected, as their high sheriff, Mr Noah, a Jew, who had formerly been the American consul at Tunis, and who is now editor of a newspaper at New York. The office is often applied for by public advertisement. I insert the following address from a candidate for the office, on account of its remarkable propriety of expression, and because it shows in some degree the deference really paid to the people in this country, and the power they actually possess.

"To the Voters of Baltimore city and county. Friends and fellow citizens,—I have been induced, by the solicitations of a number of my friends, to present myself to your notice as a candidate for the office of sheriff. It is your right and your duty to inquire into my general character, and my peculiar qualification for the office to which I aspire; and I trust that my long residence among you, and my long experience in the duties of the sheriff's office, will give to this inquiry a

gratifying result of your confidence and favour. I am aware of the responsibility of the station. I know that the power given to the sheriff is one of the most delicate and important trusts which the people can confide in one of themselves; but I have honestly endeavoured to estimate aright my ability to execute it, and have an humble, yet firm confidence, that, if the office be conferred upon me, its powers will be faithfully, impartially, promptly, yet humanely executed.—Respectfully your fellow citizen, WILLIAM STEUART."

CHAPTER X.

Glen's Falls to Saratoga Springs—Great Watering-Place of the United States—Accommodation—Sir William Johnson, first European there—Analysis of Waters—Extensive use of them—Exercise seldom taken in the open Air, but in Carriages—Hotels—Musquitoes—Flies,—Apples and Peaches dried in sun—Population—Churches—Persons of Colour—Employment of persons who do not go to Church—A Funeral—October Weather—Colours of Trees—Saratoga Lake—Ballston Lake—Fish Pond—Field of Burgoyne's Battles—Account of his Campaign—Stark defeats part of his Force—Actions of 19th September and 7th October—Burgoyne's Surrender—Incidents of the Campaign—Baroness Reidesdel—General Fraser's death—Funeral—Lady Harriet Ackland—Particulars of the Surrender—General Schuyler's kindness and magnanimous conduct—Baroness Reidesdel's interviews with the British Royal Family—Dinner in a small Country Inn—Saratoga Springs to Ballston Spa—Population—Analysis of Water—Hotels—Mrs Macmaster's Boarding-House—Mr Brown—Expence of Inquest of Lunacy—Episcopal Church—Funeral—Proclamation of Thanksgiving Day—Washerwoman.

From 20th September to 31st October.

SARATOGA Springs, the great watering-place of the United States, is situated on high dry ground, at the distance of seventeen miles southward from Glen's Falls. We came here on 20th September. The weather had previously become comparatively cool, and the

multitude had taken their departure. The great hotels were about to close. Intending to remain for some time here, we went to one of the lesser houses open for visitors during the whole year, and afterwards to a private boarding-house. The gentleman who had accompanied us from Britain left us to our regret on his return, a few days after we reached this village. It consists of one fine broad street, fringed with trees, on the sides of which are so many large and splendid hotels, that it appeared to me that there was more extensive accommodation for company here than at Harrowgate. Fifteen hundred people have been known to arrive in a week. They come from all parts of the states, even from New Orleans, at the distance of between 2000 and 3000 miles, to avoid the heat and unhealthy weather, which prevail in the southern part of the states during the end of the summer, and to enjoy the very wholesome and pleasant mineral waters of Saratoga.

The Indians were acquainted with the medicinal qualities of those waters before the country was known to Europeans. Their attention was attracted by the great quantity of game, and occasionally of wild cattle, that frequented the place. The first communication by the Indians was made to Sir William Johnson on the Mohawk river, when he was in bad health, in the year 1767. They conveyed him to the springs,—cutting a road for him through the forests. Sir William's health improved, and he made the virtues of the water known. The revolutionary war prevented the springs from be-

ing resorted to for many years; and in 1787 similar springs were discovered at Ballston, seven miles from Saratoga springs. Hotels were erected there,—the land being at that time the property of more enterprizing persons; and it was not till the Congress water at Saratoga springs was discovered, about twenty-five years ago, that much was done with a view to provide accommodation for strangers. The medical properties of the waters at the different springs, of which there are fourteen here, and four at Ballston, are owing to their containing, in various proportions, muriate of soda, carbonate of soda, carbonate of lime, carbonate of magnesia, carbonate of iron, and carbonic acid gas. A gallon, or 231 cubic inches, of the Congress water at Saratoga springs, which is more used than all the other waters there, contains of

Muriate of soda, -	471.5
Carbonate of soda, -	16.5
Carbonate of lime, -	178.476
Carbonate of magnesia, -	3.356
Carbonate of iron, -	6.168
	676. grains.

and 343 cubic inches of carbonic acid gas.

The quantity of fixed air in the Congress water is much greater than in any of the other waters here or at Ballston, and vastly exceeds any thing yet discovered in this or any other country. The medical gentlemen here say, that the large quantity of the gas, combined with the marine salt, and various carbonates, give to the Congress water, in its cathartic properties, a de-

cided superiority over every water of the same kind hitherto discovered. The temperature at the bottom of the spring is fifty degrees of Fahrenheit, and suffers no change in winter or summer; neither does the season of the year affect the quantity of the water. The taste is very agreeable; and the briskness of the water at the fountain delightful. Three or four pint tumblers are generally taken in the morning before breakfast. We also, as most people do, use it at meals from choice, although it is never so good as at the fountain, before there is any escape of gas. The people resident in the village and its neighbourhood, within six or eight miles of the place, have it carried to their houses, preferring it very much to ordinary spring water. The quantity of gas is such, that a very nice sort of breakfast bread is baked with Congress water, instead of yeast. So large a quantity of it is bottled, and sent all over the states, that the proprietors, Messrs Lynch and Clarke, are said to be making a fortune of it. Even the American packet ships are supplied with it in abundance; but there is a very considerable loss of the gas in bottling, which renders the taste insipid, and the least loss of gas occasions a precipitation of iron, which gives the water a muddy appearance. Seltzer water in the bottled state is as pleasant as Congress water, except at the fountain.

The use of the water is chiefly recommended in bilious, dyspeptic, and calculous complaints, for diseases of the skin, and for chronic rheumatism; but the great bulk of the people who resort to these celebrated springs, many

of them regularly once a-year, come for amusement, and for the preservation, rather than the recovery, of health, at a period of the year, when the violence of the heat renders a visit to a high and comparatively a cold country very desirable. I have found the use of the water and the baths so beneficial for a trifling complaint, for which I had last year tried the water at Harrowgate, that we resolved to remain here and at Ballston springs for a couple of months. The gay people had almost disappeared before we arrived. The invalids seem to live very sparingly,—hardly tasting any liquid but the water, and tea, which here, and at other places where we have been, we sometimes observe ladies take at dinner. Many of those invalids are quite able to take exercise in the open air, and would, if I am not much mistaken, derive as much benefit from it, if taken in moderation, as from the use of the water; but they seem to confine themselves to a five or ten minutes walk in the morning, when they go to the fountain, and to a drive in an open carriage for an hour, or an hour and a-half. When they meet us walking several miles for exercise, and the pleasure of being in the open air, they, whether acquainted with us or not, frequently stop their vehicles, and very civilly offer us a ride with them, and can hardly believe us serious, when we, in declining to avail ourselves of their kindly meant offer, tell them that we prefer to walk. There are few more striking points of difference between this country and Britain, than in the numbers of the people who ride and walk on the public roads. It absolutely seems

disgraceful to be seen walking; and, though there are no fine equipages here, every one rides in his gig, dearborn, or open carriage of some description or other. This circumstance no doubt proves the easy circumstances of the mass of the people, as well as the value of time to a mechanic, or labourer, whose wages may be from one to two dollars a-day, and can better afford to pay for a conveyance, and spend less time, than to walk, and spend more. Still I am persuaded that our habits in this respect are far more favourable for health; and that dyspepsia, a very general complaint in New York State, and in this country, is in no inconsiderable degree owing to the people supposing, that enough of exercise can be had in carriages and waggons, especially by persons almost always partaking of animal food largely three times a-day, who hardly ever walk a mile, or mount on horseback.

There are four great hotels. Congress Hall, the largest, is 200 feet long, with two immense wings. The United States Hotel contains as much accommodation. This is the hotel to which the Ex-king Joseph Bonaparte resorts when he pays an annual visit to the springs. He now associates at the public table as an American citizen, which he did not do at first on coming to this country. There are of course public reading-rooms, library, and ball-rooms, and a newspaper press. Backgammon boards, and draft or checquer-boards, as they are called here, are in the bar-rooms generally all over the country, and the bar-keeper not unfrequently playing at checquers with the people,

who appear as respectable as any in the house. Backgammon is not so often played here. Cards seldom seen.

We have here, and in the whole of our excursion hitherto, been much less annoyed with musquitoes than we expected. The common fly has been far more troublesome. And in the canal boat, and twice or thrice in hotels, we have had to submit to be tortured by bugs.

Apples are very abundant in this neighbourhood, sold at 3d. Sterling per bushel. We see large quantities of them dried by exposure to the sun, first pared, and cut in quarters, and then laid in any convenient situation, frequently on the house tops. Peaches are dried in the same way. Apple sauce is made of the apples thus prepared, which is used with roast beef and many other dishes, without any mixture of sugar.

The whole appearance of the place is cheerful,—the population residing in the village between 2000 and 3000. There are four or five churches, with spires covered with tin glittering through the trees, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and Universalist; the two first rather handsome houses of some size. There was not public worship regularly in all the churches, the crowded season being over; but two of the churches at least were open every Sunday; the sermons good plain discourses, but there was no eminent preacher when we were here. In the Methodist and Universalist churches, the males occupy the pews on the one side of the church, and the females on the other. This prac-

tice we afterwards found not to be unusual in the Methodist churches in the United States. The Methodists generally kneel at prayer, and stand while singing, but the practice varies in different churches. Ladles are common, as they used to be in Scotland, handed about by the church officers or deacons for offerings of money, previous to the last prayers; the singing good, usually accompanied by instrumental music, and but few of the congregation joining. Everywhere there is a band of singers. The deacons and congregation very attentive in giving seats to strangers. There is never any whispering nor speaking in the church before the clergyman comes in. Few people of colour in the churches, and such of them as are there assemble in a corner separate from the rest of the people. Such of the inhabitants as do not go to church, seem to be under no restrictions. They shoot or work, or amuse themselves as they choose. We saw a house get a thorough repair on two Sundays, but this is not usual.

On the 12th of October, we were for the first time, and quite accidentally, present at a funeral. It was on a Sunday, when it so happened that there was no service but in the Baptist church, to which we went in the afternoon. We were surprised to find it much more crowded than when we had been there previously, and took our seats in the front row in the low part of the church, which was the only one empty. One of the deacons observing this, procured accommodation for us in an adjoining seat, whispering, that the seat in which we had placed ourselves was reserved for the mourners

at a funeral about to take place. The family and their relations soon appeared, but before they were seated, the body of the deceased, a respectable farmer and proprietor's wife, of the name of Waterbury, who had died on the preceding day, laid in a coffin of cherry-tree wood, was set down on four chairs in the front of the seat appropriated for the mourners, and between it and the pulpit. The body remained in church during the service, the clergyman of course preaching a sermon suited to the occasion. When the service was concluded, the coffin was carried to the churchyard, and there, very near the church door, was placed on a bench. The upper part of the lid of the coffin, which was hinged, was opened, and the face of the deceased, covered by a piece of glass, was looked at by her friends, and the body not removed until all of the congregation, who wished it, had an opportunity of looking at the countenance of the deceased. The coffin was then placed in a very small plain hearse, and drawn by a single horse to the burying-ground at some little distance, followed first of all by the clergyman, and then in pairs by the relations and friends,—the congregation followed in such order as they liked. The body was deposited in the grave, and after a few spadefuls of earth were thrown into it, the clergyman expressed in a few words the gratitude of the family for the attendance on the occasion. The relations, with only one or two exceptions, then went away, leaving it to the grave-digger and assistants to complete the work.

Burying-ground is very generally unconnected with

a church, and very frequently farmers rail in a small piece of ground near their houses to be used as such.

The people pay little attention to their dress on such occasions as that I have mentioned. Several of the mourners here wore white gowns and yellow straw bonnets, with black ribbons. Even at New York, where the mourners were in coaches, I observed many of the men without any other mourning clothes than a crape on the hat.

Women attend funerals generally in this country.

In the beginning of October, the mornings became frosty, and the ice occasionally of some thickness, but the sun had great influence in the middle of the day, so that Fahrenheit's thermometer generally rose in the course of the day to 70°, sometimes to 78°. And during the whole month we had a cloudless sky and pure atmosphere,—finer weather than I ever before witnessed at this season. The leaves of the trees began to change their colours soon after the month commenced, and acquired at different periods colours of such beauty and brilliancy, as are not to be seen with us. The maple became of a fine scarlet,—the hiccory and walnut as yellow as a crocus,—and the sumach of a deep red. The appearance of a forest at this season is altogether superior in magnificence, beauty, and clearness of tint, to any similar scene in other countries. During this tract of charming autumn weather, which is called by the Americans the Indian summer, we made various excursions to the neighbouring country. There is not any object to be compared to

York Minster, or Fountain's Abbey, or to many noble parks within reach of the multitude, who annually resort to Harrowgate for their health or amusement; but the neighbourhood of Lake George,—and the Hudson and its falls,—of Saratoga Lake,—and Ballston Lake,—offers many temptations to those who take pleasure in the beauties of nature. Saratoga Lake, about five miles from the springs, is a fine sheet of water, where there is good fishing, and where pleasure-boats can be had. There is also a fishing pond conveniently situated, only two miles from the springs, the proprietor of which, Mr Barhyte, of German extraction, makes strangers very welcome to enjoy the sport. Although he has a considerable property, not of trifling value, we found the first time that we called in the evening to see the place, that he was at work with the necessary implements, mending his shoes. I positively at first took him for a shoemaker, but he received us so hospitably, that I soon was convinced of the mistake I had so nearly committed. Every one in this country is taught to do much more for himself than with us. I have never met an American, who, when put to it, could not use the needle well. Mr Barhyte set down cyder, and peach-brandy, and forced us to partake, before he would show us his grounds. The pond is not of great extent, but the scenery about it, though on a small scale, is sweet. It pleased Joseph Bonaparte so much, that Mr Barhyte told us, he would have been very glad to acquire it as a retired situation for himself on his annual visit to the springs; but Mr

Barhyte was not inclined to sell. King Joseph got the first lesson to fish from Mr Barhyte, in which, however, he says, he is by no means a proficient.

The field of General Burgoyne's chief battles, and of his surrender, is on the Hudson, about ten or twelve miles from Saratoga Springs. Most people devote a day to survey it. On the 27th of October, we got a conveyance from Mr Samuel Burtis, at Saratoga Springs, who is a most useful and respectable person, as horse and coach-hirer, and setting off early in the morning, spent most of the day on those parts of the banks of the Hudson, rendered memorable by the disasters, sufferings, and ultimately by the surrender of a great British army, which, in its consequences, led to the separation of the American colonies from Great Bri tain.

Before Burgoyne left Canada, the British had got possession of Lake Champlain, after an engagement on the lake, in which General Arnold, afterwards so well known for his treachery to the cause he then espoused, was defeated. Burgoyne's army was 10,000 strong, well equipped, and with a formidable train of artillery. He was confident of success, the great object being to meet Sir Henry Clinton and the New York army, which was to co-operate by the Hudson River, and thus to place the American army between two fires, and cut off the New England States from the union. General Burgoyne at the commencement of the campaign gave out in his general orders the remarkable expression, "*This* army must not retreat." And he

soon afterwards, 29th June 1777, issued a too vaunting proclamation, assuming his having possession of the country through which he was to pass, rather than that he would have to fight for it.

"The forces," he begins, "entrusted to my command are designed to act in concert, and upon a common principle with the numerous armies and fleets, which already display in every quarter of America, the power,—the justice,—and, when properly sought,—the *mercy* of the king."

"I have but to give stretch to the *Indian* forces under my direction,—and they amount to thousands,—to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain and America. I consider them the same wherever they may lurk. If, notwithstanding these endeavours and sincere inclinations, the frenzy of hostility should remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the eyes of God and man, in denouncing and executing the vengeance of the state against the wilful outcasts. The messengers of justice and of wrath await them in the field; devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror that a reluctant, but indispensable prosecution of military duty must occasion, will bar the way to their return."

Burgoyne met with no obstruction until he reached the south end of Lake Champlain, and approached Ticonderago, which, as before-mentioned, he reduced with ease. This happened on 6th July. He proceeded without opposition to Whitehall, from whence the distance to Albany is not much more than sixty miles. With part of the army which had retreated from Ti-

conderago, he came into contact at Whitehall, and at Fort Anne, twelve miles farther to the southward. He had sharp skirmishes, which were far more distressing to an invading army cut off from its resources, than to the enemy, who were constantly receiving additions to their force from the militia of the neighbouring states, and who, having recovered from their panic, delayed General Burgoyne's progress by destroying the roads, felling trees, and placing every obstacle which they could in his way. In the meantime, and before he reached Saratoga, about twenty miles from Fort Anne, he sustained great loss; General Stark, commanding a body of American militia, having on 16th August fallen in with, and defeated, a large body of the British army under Colonels Baum and Breyman, whom Burgoyne had sent out to possess themselves of a quantity of stores which the Americans had collected at a considerable distance from the British army. A thousand men were lost in this engagement, and their commander, Baum, killed. This victory had a prodigious effect. The Americans had been confounded with the loss of Ticonderago without a blow. They expected that fortress, in the worst case, to have detained Burgoyne for some time, but their spirits were now as much elated as they had been depressed, when they found that their militia, hastily raised, had gained an important victory over veteran troops. Stark's address to his little army, before the combat commenced, was short and to the point. "We must to-day beat the enemy. If we do

not, Mary Stark (his wife) will be a widow before the sun sets."

Before the British army reached Saratoga, General Gates, an Englishman, who had adopted America as his country, had superseded General Schuyler and General St Clair, and commanded the American army, now considerably more numerous than the British, and daily increasing.

The armies were for some days posted near each other, not far from the river, the Hudson; their light troops in advance of the artillery by the river side, and the rest of the armies on the heights. At length, general engagements took place on 19th September and 7th October. The first action was not decisive. Neither army gained ground; but the loss of men was attended with serious consequences to Burgoyne, who could get no reinforcements, his communication with Canada being cut off, while, on the other hand, the American army was hourly augmenting. The second battle terminated unfavourably for the British. Circumstantial details of these battles have been published by General Burgoyne; by General Wilkinson of the American army; and by Baroness Reidesdel, the wife of Baron Reidesdel, who commanded the German troops in British pay, which make it not very difficult to understand on the spot,—Bemus's heights, and Freeman's farm, which we visited,—the relative positions of the armies, even without the assistance of Mr Ezra Buel, whom we saw, now a very old man, who was the guide of the American army and wounded in one of these battles.

Burgoyne was obliged to retreat after the last action. But finding that part of the American army had taken a position in his rear, he, on 17th October, surrendered to the American forces by capitulation, or convention, as it was afterwards called.

Any thing like a history of this important, though short campaign, would be out of place here,—my object merely being to give such information as may prevent travellers from passing through this part of the country without being aware of the interest attached to it, or knowing how easy it is to have pointed out to them, in the course of a few hours, and still with perfect precision, some of the leading circumstances of the greatest military event which has occurred in America,—the stations of the opposing armies,—the houses which were the head-quarters on each side,—the spots where General Fraser, and some of the most eminent officers were killed, —where Fraser was buried,—and the field in which were piled the arms and stores of the capitulating army.

Many of the incidents which occurred after General Burgoyne reached the Hudson were strikingly romantic and tragical. Burgoyne, at the period of the surrender, had received no intelligence of Sir Henry Clinton's being on his way to meet him, although Sir Henry had ascended the Hudson as far as Fort Montgomery, at the entrance to the Highlands, which he had taken. The messenger dispatched with this important information to Burgoyne, whose name was Taylor, was taken by the American General, George Clinton. Taylor, finding himself in danger, turned

aside and took something from his pocket, which he swallowed. A severe dose of emetic tartar was administered, which had the desired effect. He discharged a small silver bullet, which being unscrewed, was found to contain Clinton's dispatch to Burgoyne. Taylor was tried and executed.

In the first engagement on 19th September, a very disproportionate number of British officers fell. Many of the American soldiers were placed on the boughs of the trees in the rear and flanks, who took every opportunity of destroying them by single shots. In one instance, General Burgoyne himself was aimed at, but the aid-de-camp of General Phillips received the ball through his arm, while delivering a message to Burgoyne, the mistake being occasioned by his having his saddle trappings of rich lace, which induced the marksmen to suppose him the commander. General Burgoyne states in his narrative respecting the battle of 19th September, " that few actions have been characterized by more obstinacy in attack or defence,—the British bayonet being repeatedly tried ineffectually; and that there was scarcely ever an interval of a minute in the smoke, when some British officer was not shot."

Of the battle of 7th October he observes, " If there be any persons who continue to doubt that the Americans possess the quality and faculty of fighting,—call it by whatever term they please,—they are of a prejudice that it would be very absurd longer to contend with. The British troops (he adds) retreated hard-pressed, but in good order, and had scarcely entered the camp

when it was stormed with great fury, the enemy rushing to the lines under a severe fire of grape-shot and small arms." In an official report he stated, "that the standing corps of the American army are disciplined, not hazarding the term, but applying it to the great fundamental points of military institution, sobriety, subordination, regularity, and courage." Lord Balcarras, who had a command in both actions, bore testimony equally strong to the bravery and discipline of the army opposed to the British. "At all times (he says,) they fought with great courage and obstinacy. We were taught by experience, that neither their attacks nor resistance were to be despised. The lines (7th October) were attacked with as much fury as the fire of small arms can admit." The casualties of the last battle, too, so far as officers were concerned, were severely felt by the army. General Fraser, Colonel Breyman, and Sir Francis Clarke, aid-de-camp to General Burgoyne, killed; Major Ackland, commanding the grenadiers, severely wounded; General Burgoyne himself had a shot through his hat,—another had torn his waistcoat.

General Fraser was mounted on an iron-grey horse, and was very conspicuous. He was all activity, courage, and vigilance, animating the troops by his example. Wherever he was present every thing prospered; and, when confusion appeared in any part of the line, order and energy were restored by his arrival. General Morgan, with a corps of American riflemen, were opposed to Fraser's division of the army. In the midst of the battle, Morgan, observing Fraser's great exer-

tions, took a few of his best riflemen aside,—men in whose fatal precision of aim he could trust,—and, pointing out Fraser, told them who he was, adding, "I admire and respect him, but it is necessary that he should die. Take your stations in the wood, and do your duty." Within a few moments the gallant Fraser fell. "He saw," he said, "the rifleman who shot him posted on a tree." The spot where he was wounded is in a meadow, close to a blacksmith's shop, on a bit of elevated ground. Baroness Reidesdel, with her three children, occupied the house to which General Fraser, after receiving his mortal wound, was carried. This house we saw, though now removed from the foot of the hill to the road-side, as well as the rooms, which the Baroness describes herself to have occupied with her family, and which remain unaltered. The recital which this heroine gives of the death and other melancholy events of the day is most singularly interesting:—"Severe trials awaited us; and, on the 7th of October, our misfortunes began. I was at breakfast with my husband, and heard that something was intended. On the same day I expected the Generals Burgoyne, Phillips, and Fraser, to dine with us. I saw a great movement among the troops. My husband told me it was a mere reconnoissance, which gave me no concern, as it often happened. I walked out of the house, and met several Indians in their war dresses, with guns in their hands. When I asked them where they were going, they cried out, 'War, war,' meaning that they were going to battle. This filled me with

apprehensions, and I had scarcely got home before I heard reports of cannon and musketry, which grew louder by degrees, till at last the noise became excessive. About four o'clock in the afternoon, instead of the guests whom I expected, General Fraser was brought on a litter mortally wounded. The table, which was already set, was instantly removed, and a bed placed in its stead for the wounded General. I sat trembling in a corner: The noise grew louder, and the alarm increased. The thought, that my husband might perhaps be brought in, wounded in the same manner, was terrible to me, and distressed me exceedingly.

"General Fraser said to the surgeon, 'Tell me if my wound is mortal; do not flatter me.' The ball had passed through his body, and, unhappily for the General, he had eaten a very hearty breakfast, by which the stomach was distended, and the ball, as the surgeon said, had passed through it. He requested General Burgoyne to permit him to be buried at six o'clock in the evening, on the top of a mountain, in a redoubt which had been built there. Towards evening I saw my husband coming; then I forgot all my sorrows, and thanked God that he was spared to me. I could not go to sleep, as I had General Fraser and all the other wounded gentlemen in my room; and I was sadly afraid my children would awake, and, by their crying, disturb the dying man in his last moments, who often addressed me, and apologized for the trouble he gave me. About three o'clock in the morning I was told he could not hold out much longer. I had desired to

be informed of the near approach of this sad crisis, and I then wrapped up my children in their clothes, and went with them into the room below. About eight o'clock in the morning he died. After he was laid out, and his corpse wrapped up in a sheet, we came again into the room, and we had this sorrowful sight before us the whole day, and, to add to the melancholy scene, almost every moment some officer of my acquaintance was brought in wounded."

The circumstances attending the funeral of General Fraser, as related by the Baroness, are of the most romantic description. "The body, attended by General Burgoyne, and the other principal officers of the army, who could not resist the impulse to join the procession, moved, winding slowly up the hill, within view of the greater part of both armies, while an incessant cannonade from the Americans, who observed a collection of people without knowing the occasion, covered the procession with dust. The clergyman, the Reverend Mr Brudenel, went through the funeral service with perfect composure and propriety, notwithstanding the cannonade, and thus the last honours were paid to one of the chiefs of the British army. Many cannon balls flew close by me, but my whole attention was engaged by the funeral scene, where I saw my husband exposed to imminent danger."

It was afterwards ascertained from General Winslow, who commanded the gun that was fired on this occasion, that, as soon as they discovered that it was a funeral procession, they ceased firing shot, and commen-

ced firing minute guns,—a mark of respect sometimes shown when a distinguished enemy is buried.

General Burgoyne has sketched this scene with peculiar eloquence. "The incessant cannonade during the solemnity,—the steady attitude and unaltered voice with which the chaplain officiated, though frequently covered with dust, which the shot threw up on all sides of him,—the mute but expressive mixture of sensibility and indignation upon every countenance; these objects will remain to the last of life upon the mind of every man who was present. The growing duskiness added to the scenery, and the whole marked a character of that juncture, that would make one of the finest subjects for the pencil of a master that the field ever exhibited. To the canvas, and to the faithful page of a more important historian, gallant friend! I consign thy memory. There may thy talents, thy manly virtues, their progress and their period, find due distinction; and long may they survive,—long after the frail record of my pen shall be forgotten!"

The place of the interment is now hardly distinguishable; no monument or tablet of any kind has been erected over the grave of this brave and meritorious officer.

Baroness Reidesdel had at least one female companion on this unfortunate 7th of October, Lady Harriet Ackland, the wife of Major Ackland. News came that he was desperately wounded, and a prisoner. He had been previously wounded in some fighting to the south of Ticonderago, but had recovered, and resumed the

command of the grenadiers. His escape with only a wound in the battle of the 7th October was almost miraculous. Colonel Wilkinson of the American army gives the following account of it: "With the troops, I pursued the hard-pressed, flying enemy, passing over killed and wounded, until I heard one exclaim, 'Protect me, Sir, against this boy.' Turning my eyes, it was my fortune to arrest the purpose of a lad, thirteen or fourteen years old, in the act of taking aim at a wounded officer, who lay in the angle of a worm fence. Inquiring his rank, he answered, 'I had the honour to command the grenadiers.' Of course I knew him to be Major Ackland, who had been brought from the field to this place on the back of a Captain Shrimpton, of his own corps, under a heavy fire, and was deposited here to save the lives of both.

"I dismounted, took him by the hand, and expressed hopes that he was not badly wounded. 'Not badly,' replied this gallant officer, 'but very inconveniently, I am shot through both legs. Will you, Sir, have the goodness to have me conveyed to your camp?' I directed my servant to alight, and we lifted Ackland into his seat, and ordered him to be conducted to headquarters."

Lady Harriet Ackland had come to Canada with her husband in the year 1776, and accompanied him in all of the varieties of travelling, to attend him on his sick-bed in a hut at Chambly. She remained at Ticonderago, until her husband was wounded in some fighting, after the army advanced farther to the southward, when

she followed him, and, after his recovery, persisted in following his fortunes with no other vehicle than a little two-wheeled tumbril, constructed in the camp. As the grenadiers, whom Major Ackland commanded, were attached to the advanced corps, this lady was exposed to all their fatigues, and to many of their dangers, and was at last obliged to take refuge during the battle of the 7th, with Baroness Riedesdel, among the wounded and dying. "She became," says the Baroness, "very miserable on hearing of her husband's wound. We comforted her, by telling her that the wound was only slight, and at the same time advised her to go over to her husband, to do which she would certainly obtain permission, and then she could attend him herself. She was a charming woman, and very fond of him. I spent much of the night in comforting her, and then went again to my children, whom I had put to bed." Next day, accordingly, Lady Harriet sent a message to General Burgoyne, through his aide-de-camp, Lord Petersham, to beg his permission to go over to the American camp to take care of her husband. General Burgoyne's account of what followed is very interesting. "Though I was ready," he says, "to believe, for I experienced that patience and fortitude, in a supreme degree, were to be found, as well as every other virtue, under the most tender forms, I was astonished at this proposal. After so long an agitation of the spirits, exhausted not only for want of rest, but absolutely want of food, drenched in rains for twelve hours together, that a woman should be capable of delivering her-

self to the enemy, probably in the night, and uncertain of what hands she might first fall into, appeared an effort above human nature. The assistance I was enabled to give was small indeed,—I had not even a cup of wine to offer her,—but I was told, she had found, from some kind and fortunate hand, a little rum and dirty water. All I could furnish to her was an open boat, and a few lines, written upon dirty and wet paper, to General Gates, recommending her to his protection." The Reverend Mr Brudenel accompanied her in passing down the river with the letter from Burgoyne; and although somewhat detained on the river, because it was night when she arrived, and the sentinel would not permit her to land, till he had received orders from his superior, "it is due to justice to say, that she was received and accommodated by General Gates, with all the humanity and respect that her rank, her merits, and her fortunes deserved."—"Let such," adds General Burgoyne, "as are affected by these circumstances of alarm, hardship, and danger, recollect, that the subject of them was a woman, of the most tender and delicate frame,—of the gentlest manners,—habituated to all the soft elegancies and refined enjoyments that attend high birth and fortune,—and far advanced in a state in which the tender cares, always due to the sex, become indispensably necessary. Her mind alone was formed for such trials."

Major Ackland speedily recovered under Lady Harriet's care. Many years after the war, he lost his life in a duel, which he fought with an officer who called

the Americans cowards. Ackland espoused their cause, and vindicated it fatally for himself.

The circumstances of the British after the second battle were peculiarly distressing. They were in constant dread of a renewed attack from the Americans. General Burgoyne remarks of the 8th of October, the day following the battle, "The hours were measured by a succession of immediate cares, increasing doubts, and melancholy objects. The enemy were formed in two lines. Every part of their disposition, as well as the repeated attacks on Lord Balcarras's corps, and the cannonade from the plain, kept the troops in momentary expectation of a general action. During this suspense, wounded officers, some upon crutchets, and others even carried upon hand-barrows by their servants, were occasionally ascending the hill from the hospital tents, to take their share in the action, or follow the march of the army. The generals were employed in exhorting the troops."

General Burgoyne himself, certainly as brave a soldier as ever lived, now had the most painful duties imposed upon him. His boasting declarations at the commencement of the campaign only rendered the step he was forced to take, with a view to save the unnecessary waste of life, the more humiliating; but he had no alternative. He set off in the evening of the 8th from his victorious foe; but he was pursued so closely, that the army were almost constantly exposed to, and suffering from, cannon-balls and rifle-shot. Eleven cannon-balls passed through the house where Baroness

Reidesdel with her children, on the army halting, were placed for security. Even the access to the river was rendered hazardous by the rifle-shots, and the army was in great want of water. There was no way of procuring water, even for Baron Reidesdel's family, except by means of a soldier's wife, who ventured to the river for it; and the Americans, out of respect for her sex, did not fire at her. For several days the army was exposed to the greatest privations. Consultations were held, and counsels of war called; and at last, General Burgoyne, being satisfied that he could not effect his retreat, on 14th October proposed a cessation of arms, which resulted two days afterwards in a convention, stipulating for the delivery to the Americans of the arms and artillery of the British army, and for the return of the troops to Britain, on condition that they should not serve again in the American war. The commissioners who negociated the convention rejoined the British army at midnight. Not long afterwards, a deserter brought information that Sir Henry Clinton had not only taken the intrenchments on the Highlands of the Hudson, but had advanced with his troops and fleet, and must in all probability have reached Albany. This intelligence so elated General Burgoyne, that he began to think of breaking the convention, but a majority of the officers, whom he consulted, declared that it could not be broken with honour. Fortunate it was that such was their decision. Only a part of the deserter's information was well founded, and not so much as could have extricated Burgoyne and his army from

their hazardous situation. A truly adverse stroke of fortune had befallen him before the last battle, in the failure of a stratagem, by which he had reason to expect to be able to effect the destruction of a considerable part of the American army. He had succeeded in leading General Gates to believe that the main body of the British army had marched to the north to Fort Edward, and that a rear guard only was left in the camp, who, after a while, were to push off as fast as possible, leaving the heavy baggage behind. On this it was resolved by Gates to advance, and attack the camp without delay, but Burgoyne, unknown to the Americans, had a line formed behind a quantity of brushwood to support the post of artillery, where the attack was to be made. But at the very critical moment when the plan had all but succeeded, a deserter from the British camp communicated the important fact, that the whole British army was now encamped behind a thick brushwood, which concealed them from the American army. The order for attack was instantly countermanded, but some loss was sustained, the British artillery having opened on the rear of the retreating Americans. The site of both armies on this occasion is yet well known, and pointed out by persons in the neighbourhood. But for the information conveyed by the deserter, such a turn of affairs must have taken place, as to have enabled him to get on to Albany, or at all events to secure a safe retreat.

The surrender was carried into effect on 17th October. The American Adjutant-General Wilkinson's ac-

count of the interview between the American and the British generals is thus given:—"General Burgoyne proposed to be introduced to General Gates, and we crossed the Fishkill, and proceeded to head-quarters on horseback, General Burgoyne in front, with his Adjutant-General, Kingston, and his aids-de-camp, Captain Lord Petersham and Lieutenant Wilford, behind him; then followed Major-General Phillips, the Baron Reidesdel, and the other general officers, and their suites, according to rank. General Gates, advised of Burgoyne's approach, met him at the head of his camp, Burgoyne in a rich royal uniform, and Gates in a plain blue frock. When they approached nearly within sword's length, they reined up, and halted. I then named the gentlemen; and General Burgoyne, raising his hat most gracefully, said, 'The fortune of war, General Gates, has made me your prisoner.' To which the conqueror, returning a courtly salute, promptly replied, 'I shall always be ready to bear testimony, that it has not been through any fault of your excellency.' Major-General Phillips then advanced, and he and General Gates saluted and shook hands, with the familiarity of old acquaintances. The Baron Reidesdel and other officers were introduced in their turn." General Gates showed great delicacy in directing, that the American soldiery should not witness the piling of their arms by the British army.

Baroness Reidesdel, on the day of the surrender, went to the American camp. General Schuyler, whose mansion-house at Schuylerville had been burnt, and

grounds laid waste, by Burgoyne on the retreat, rather wantonly, as was thought, received her with great kindness. "You may find it (he said, addressing her,) embarrassing to be the only lady in such a large company of gentlemen. Will you come with your children to my tent, and partake of a frugal dinner, offered with the best will?"—"By the kindness you show to me," returned I, "you induce me to believe that you have a wife and children." He regaled me with smoked tongues, which were excellent, with beef-steaks, potatoes, fresh butter, and bread. Never did a dinner give me so much pleasure as this. I was easy after many months of anxiety, and I read the same happy change in the countenances of those around me. That my husband was out of danger, was a still greater cause of joy. After our dinner, General Schuyler begged me to pay him a visit at his house near Albany, where he expected that General Burgoyne would also be his guest. I sent to ask my husband's directions, who advised me to accept the invitation. On the next day we reached Albany, but not, as we had hoped we should, with a victorious army. The reception, however, which we met with from General Schuyler, his wife and daughters, was not like the reception of enemies, but of the most intimate friends. They loaded us with kindness; and they behaved in the same manner towards General Burgoyne. But all their actions proved, that, at the sight of the misfortunes of others, they quickly forgot their own." General Burgoyne, indeed, himself publicly acknowledged the magnanimity of Ge-

neral Schuyler's conduct in the House of Commons. In his speech, 26th May 1778, he says, " The district of Saratoga is the property of Major-General Schuyler of the American troops. There were large barracks built by him, which took fire the day after the British army arrived on the ground. General Schuyler had likewise a very good dwelling-house, exceeding large store-houses, great saw-mills, and other out-buildings, to the value altogether, perhaps, of L. 10,000. A few days before the negociation with General Gates the enemy had formed a plan to attack me. A large column of troops were approaching to pass the small river, preparatory to a general action, and were entirely covered from the fire of my artillery by those buildings. Sir, I avow, that I gave the order to set them on fire, and in a very short time, that whole property I have described was consumed. One of the first persons I saw after the convention was signed was General Schuyler. I expressed to him my regret at the event which had happened, and the reasons which had occasioned it. He desired me to think no more of it;—said the occasion justified it, according to the principles and rules of war; and that he should have done the same upon the same occasion, or words to that effect. He did more. He sent an aid-de-camp to conduct me to Albany, in order, as he expressed, to procure me better quarters than a stranger might be able to find. This gentleman conducted me to a very elegant house, and, to my great surprise, presented me to Mrs Schuyler and her family; and in this General's house I remained during my

whole stay at Albany, with a table of more than twenty covers for me and my friends, and every other possible demonstration of hospitality!"

Although the termination of General Burgoyne's military career was so unfortunate, he was indisputably a man of talent. He had previously acquired considerable reputation as a soldier in Spain and Portugal,—was a good speaker in Parliament,—and the author of several successful dramas, the Heiress, Lord of the Manor, &c. Nothing is publicly known of his parentage with certainty, which is remarkable, considering that he was for a long period distinguished as a man of fashion, moving in the higher circles in London, and married to a daughter of Lord Derby. It has been said that he was a natural son of Lord Bingley.

Baroness Reidesdel remained with her husband in the United States, and in Canada, until after the peace of 1783; but her memoirs were not published till the year 1800, at Berlin. They contain a great deal of interesting details, illustrative of the manners and state of society in America at the period of her residence. I find in them the following curious accounts of her interviews with the British Royal Family, before her going to America, and on her return.

"I was advised," she writes, "to present myself at the court, the queen having expressed a desire to see me. I ordered, therefore, a court dress, and Lady George Germain introduced me to her majesty. This was on the 1st of January 1777, and before her going to America. The saloon seemed to be very ugly, and

the furniture old-fashioned. The ladies and gentlemen were all in attendance in the levee-room. At length the King entered, preceded by three chamberlains. Then came the queen, her train borne by a lady, and followed by a chamberlain. The King went round to the right, and the queen to the left, and neither passed any one without addressing some words. At the end of the saloon, their majesties met, exchanged low obeisances, and returned to the side from which they had entered. I asked Lady Germain how I must behave, and whether, as I had been told, the King gave a kiss to each lady who was presented to him. She answered, that it was only the usage with English marchionesses, and that I had nothing to do but to stand quiet in my place. I was, therefore, much astonished at receiving that attention from his majesty; and unexpected as it came, I could not help blushing. His majesty immediately asked me if I had received letters from my husband (then in Canada.) I answered that my last were dated 22d November. 'He is well,' said the King, 'I have inquired about him,—every body is satisfied with him,—and I hope that he will not suffer from the cold.' I rejoined, that I too indulged in that hope the more readily, as he was born in a cold cilmate. 'I can, moreover, assure you,' said the King, 'that the country is very healthy, and the air very pure.' He then made me again a gracious bow, and continued his round. I whispered to Lady Germain, that the King had naturalized me by his salutation. The Queen approached, and showed me also great affability. She

asked me how long it was since I arrived in London. I said 'two months.'—'I thought,' returned the Queen, 'that it was longer.'—'I arrived in England seven months ago,' said I, 'but have been in London only two months.'—'How are you pleased with your residence here,' asked the Queen?—'Very well, madam,' I answered, 'but all my thoughts are bent on Canada.' —'Have you then no dread of the sea?' asked her majesty again, 'I do not like it.'—'Nor I, madam,' I replied, 'but as there is no other means of meeting my husband, I shall cheerfully embark.'—'I admire your spirit and resolution,' said the Queen, 'for it is a great undertaking, especially with three children.'

"I naturally inferred from this conversation that the queen had heard of me, and was therefore the more pleased that I had paid my duty to her majesty. After the levee, I saw all the royal infants, except one, who was ill. They were ten in number, and every one of them was wonderfully beautiful.

"The kind reception with which I had been honoured, encouraged me to pay my duty to their majesties several times. In the spring, when I was on the eve of departing to Portsmouth, in order to embark, I took leave of the Queen, and her majesty asked me again, if I was not afraid of the terrible voyage I was to undertake. I replied, that, as it was the wish of my husband, I should do it with courage and pleasure, in the hope of fulfilling a duty, and that I was sure her majesty would act in the same manner if placed in a similar situation. 'Yes,' replied the Queen, 'but a

correspondent of mine informs me, that you go without the knowledge of your husband.' I replied, that her majesty, as a German princess, was surely convinced that I could not do it without his consent, for I should want the necessary money. 'You are right,' said the Queen, 'and I approve of your determination, and wish you all imaginable success. What do you call your ship? I will often inquire about you, and I hope that, on your return to England, you will come and see me.' She was as good as her word, and not only inquired after me, but sent me often her gracious compliments."

Soon after the baroness's return to London in 1783, the queen's first lady of honour, Lady Howard, "sent us a note to inform us, that her majesty would expect us at six o'clock. My court dress not being yet ready, I was obliged to apologize for the impossibility of paying my duties upon that day, and I renewed my excuse when we were presented to their majesties. The queen, who, like her royal consort, received us most graciously, replied with the greatest affability, "we care not for dress, when we are glad to see our visitors." All the royal princesses were present. The queen, the princesses, the lady in waiting, and myself, formed half a circle around the fire place. The king and my husband stood near the chimney. Tea and cakes were handed round. I was seated between the queen and one of her royal daughters, and was obliged to relate a great deal. Her majesty told me, 'I have often thought of you, and inquired after you, and the news I received

gave me great pleasure, for I always heard that you enjoyed good health, passed your time agreeably, and were beloved by every body.' The Princess Sophia observing that I had a dreadful cough, went for a jelly of black currants, which she recommended to me as an excellent remedy, and of which she obliged me to accept a potful. At nine o'clock, the Prince of Wales came; the young princesses, his sisters, ran towards him, and he embraced them, and jumped about with them. The natural condescension of their majesties was so successful in dispelling all uneasiness and constraint from the minds of those whom they deigned to admit into their presence, that we could have thought ourselves in the midst of a happy family of our own rank. We remained with their majesties until ten o'clock. The king and my husband conversed a long time respecting America, and always in German, which his majesty spoke with great fluency. Mr de Reidesdel was much struck with the king's excellent memory. On taking leave, the queen was so condescending as to tell me, that she hoped I would remain some time in England, and that she wished to see me once more before my departure."

We returned from the battle-grounds to the country hotel, about half a mile from the house, where the Baroness de Reidesdel spent the miserably anxious day of 7th October 1777, very ready for the dinner set out for us, beef-steak, potatoes, and vegetables, and apple-pye. In passing through the ante-room, on our way to dinner, we saw another edition of precisely the

same dinner placed in it for our driver. This is an example, and one of the most common every-day kind, of the equality practised in this country. The drivers not unfrequently dine at the stage-hotels with the passengers; but they would not submit to have an inferior dinner to that of the passengers, nor served up after them. All pay, and, if industrious and sober, are able to pay alike.

On the 31st of October, we changed our quarters from Saratoga springs to Ballston Spa, in a pleasant situation, in a hollow surrounded on all sides by high grounds. The Kayaderoseras, a small river, runs through the village, containing 800 or 1000 people.

There are only two great hotels here, the Sans Souci, which is on the largest scale, and Mr Aldridge's. There are several small hotels and boarding-houses. The baths are equally good here as at Saratoga springs; but the water is obviously not so pleasant to the taste, nor are its effects so powerful. The quantity of carbonic acid gas in a gallon of the water is only 210 cubic inches, while in the Congress water it is 343 cubic inches. The substances common to both are here in smaller quantity.

We are in the boarding-house of Mrs Macmaster, one of the most comfortable we have seen in this country. The house is managed by herself, two daughters, and a little girl. Every thing good of its kind; poultry the best that we have met with; dinners well-cooked; and coffee as well prepared as in the best restaurateurs

in the Palais Royal. The charge four dollars per week. But this is not the gay season.

There is nothing to find fault with, excepting that now, when the nights are becoming cold, the beds are without curtains, and the bed-room barely furnished. Mr Brown, an attorney and counsellor here, and an exceedingly well-informed man, is a permanent boarder in the house. Law-suits are very cheaply and expeditiously brought to a conclusion in the county court,—so cheaply, that legal means of redress are really and truly equally open to all. Mr Brown was absent while we were here a whole day, on occasion of an inquest of lunacy of a person of some property. The whole expence of the proceedings from beginning to end, in which the lunacy was established, would not, he said, cost above sixty dollars,—a sum differing too widely from the L. 8000, the amount of taxed costs in the recent proceedings for cognoscing Lord Portsmouth, not to furnish matter for serious reflexion. There is too much truth in the view of the ruinous expences of law proceedings in England, which a lady of high rank, in one of her late novels, puts into the mouth of a man of wealth, who was seeking for means of revenge against an individual to whom fortune had not been so bountiful, "Right or wrong, is it not your opinion that I can force him to law with me, and so ruin him? Nothing is easier than that."

There is an Episcopal church here. The clergyman has an establishment for educating young men. A person belonging to his church died while we were here,

in consequence of swallowing a poisonous drug, instead of the medicine ordered by the physician, and was buried in the same way as in the case mentioned at Saratoga springs. The funeral was not on a Sunday; but there was a previous sermon in the church.

A thanksgiving day is appointed at some time every autumn by the governor of the State, on account of the blessings which the people enjoy. The proclamation for this season appeared in the newspaper while we were here.

" Proclamation by Nathaniel Pitcher, Lieutenant-Governor of the State of New York:

" WHEREAS the continued goodness of Almighty God to the people of this State, in permitting us to enjoy the blessings of republican institutions; in crowning the year with his mercy, by the production of the ' kindly fruits of the earth;' in the diffusion of moral instruction and science, by sustaining our colleges, academies, and Sabbath and common school institutions; in continuing us the light of Revelation, and the consolation and toleration of religious profession and worship; these, and numberless other evidences of Divine favour, demand from us a public expression of devout and grateful acknowledgment.

"I do therefore, in accordance with custom, and under a solemn sense of public duty, recommend to the good people of this State the observance of Thursday, the 4th day of December next, as a day of public prayer and thanksgiving; and, in so doing, I indulge the con-

fident expectation that all, with the exception of those who may be restrained by conscientious scruples, will assemble on that day in their respective places of public worship, and, with devout and grateful hearts, present their thank-offering to Almighty God for the multiplied blessings which we are permitted to enjoy.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name, and affixed the privy seal at the city of Albany the 29th day of October, anno Domini 1828. NATHANIEL PITCHER."

Such a proclamation could hardly be expressed in more appropriate terms; yet that which immediately preceded it by the late lamented governor of this State, De Witt Clinton, is so peculiarly to the purpose, that I cannot omit it. It was issued 23d October 1827.

"WHEREAS the recommendation of a particular day for the offering up to Almighty God of public and united thanks for his manifold blessings, interferes in no wise with religious freedom, and is the most direct and proper means of uniting individual thanksgiving in one social expression of the public gratitude: And whereas the people of this State have been greatly distinguished by the gracious dispensations of Divine Providence, having experienced for a long time the blessings of liberty, plenty, and peace, the benefits of great internal improvements, of prosperous seminaries of education, and of a general state of health, an abundance of fruits of the earth, and an augmenting diffusion of the

lights of religion and knowledge: Now, therefore, I have judged it my incumbent duty to recommend to the good people of this State, the observance of Wednesday, the 12th day of December next, as a day of prayer and thanksgiving: and I do so in the earnest hope, and in the confident expectation, that all, except such as may be withheld by scruples of conscience, will on that day assemble in their respective places of worship, and present the sublime spectacle of a whole people offering the homage of devout and grateful hearts to that Great and Good Being from whose bounty we derive all that we enjoy.

" In witness whereof," &c.

Both here and at Saratoga springs, doors are very generally left unlocked during the night. Shutters to the windows are not common. Clothes are left out to bleach during the night on the uninclosed greens in the villages. On my wife applying for a washerwoman two or three days ago to wash some clothes, our landlady said that they should be washed in the house, and that she would get in a *lady* to assist. The lady, when she appeared, turned out to be a *lady* of colour. It will not at all do here to talk of the lower classes; " Send for that fellow:—order such a woman to come here." Language of that kind will not be tolerated by any part of the community in this country. The feeling of self-respect exists here almost universally.

Soap and candles are very generally manufactured at home. Wax candles are much used even in ordinary

boarding-houses, and said to be almost as cheap; much use is made in washing of water run off wood ashes. When tallow candles are not made at home, it is usual to exchange the wood ashes, and the fat offals from meat used in the family, for soap and candles, with the manufacturer for sale.

CHAPTER XI.

General Election for the State of New York—Contest between John Quincy Adams and General Jackson for the Presidency—Explanation of particulars—Twenty-four States, among which Representatives and direct Taxes are apportioned according to their numbers—Congress—President and Vice-President of the United States—Powers of President and of Congress—Separate government of each of the twenty-four States—Union of the States limited to distinct objects—In other respects, the twenty-four states are separate republics—Elections generally by Ballot—Senate of the State of New York—House of Assembly—Right to vote—Division of State of New York into Counties, with Sheriff, Coroner, &c.—Division of Counties into Townships, and of these into subdivisions—Each township an election district—Public Notices of the Elections—Election at Ballston Spa, 5th November 1828—Votes taken by Inspectors—Objections to Voters instantly determined—Quietness of the Election day—Canvassers afterwards make up Returns—Number of Votes given for President—Election completed in three days—Dr Dwight's description of an Election—Opinions of Chancellor Kent—Joseph Gerald and James Flint—Act against Bribery in Elections—Caucus, or preparatory Meetings—Specimen of proceedings at such Meetings—Issue of Elections announced by County Canvassers in Newspapers—Excitement at Elections soon subsides.

5th November 1828.

I HAD been at Ballston Spa but a very few days, when a meeting for election, one of the most important that has ever occurred in this country, was held.

This being the last of the four years of the presidency of Mr John Quincy Adams, and he and General Jackson being candidates for the chair for the four years commencing in the month of March next, the people had to give their votes by ballot, the method of voting now almost universal in the large states, for electors of a president and vice-president of the United States. They had also at the same time to give their votes for the governor and lieutenant-governor of the State of New York; for a senator, and representative to the Congress of the United States; for three members of Assembly of the State of New York; for a sheriff; for four coroners, and for the county clerk.

Some short general explanation may be necessary to make the particulars of this election understood.

The North American Confederacy is now composed of twenty-four states; among which, *representatives* and *direct taxes* are apportioned according to their numbers, of which, therefore, a census is taken at the end of every term of ten years. Each state, whatever its population may be, has at least one representative in the House of Representatives; and is not entitled to have more than one for every 30,000 inhabitants. The number of representatives was at first between sixty and seventy;—it now exceeds 200. Each state, whatever its population may be, sends two senators, and no more, to the Senate of the United States. The Senate of the United States, therefore, at present consists of forty-eight senators.

The representatives are elected for two, and the senators for six years.

The House of Representatives and the Senate are styled the Congress of the United States.

The mode of election of representatives and senators to Congress is regulated by the legislatures of the respective states.

The president and vice-president of the United States are elected for four years by delegates,—neither representatives nor senators, appointed by the people of the respective states, according to forms, which, although an attempt has already been made to amend them, have been found troublesome in practice, and will therefore probably be altered.

The powers of the president and of Congress relate to peace and war, the support of the army and navy, the militia, the imposition of taxes for the expence of the general government, contracts for public loans, coining money, regulation of commerce, the post-office establishment, the punishment of piracy, and offences against the law of nations, and the establishment of the necessary tribunals for the adjudication of all cases touching the general constitution, arising between the states themselves, and between citizens of the states and foreign states; but under the express declaration, that all other powers are reserved to the states respectively; and most especially, that Congress shall make no law respecting a religious establishment; and that in all the states a prisoner shall, in criminal trials, have the assistance of counsel for his defence, and that the right of trial by jury in all cases exceeding twenty dollars shall be preserved.

Each of those states, now twenty-four in number, has its own separate government; and, with two exceptions of small states, in which there is no senate, and some other trifling exceptions, its own governor and lieutenant-governor, its own house of representatives and senators, and manages the whole affairs of its municipal government and internal regulation; the establishment of its code of laws, civil and criminal, without the slightest right, or attempt to interfere on the part of the Congress, or of the general government. The president of the United States has no better right to pardon an offender convicted of murder or fire raising in the State of New York, than he has in England. Neither has the general government the slightest power to put down slavery in any of the states, or to make any regulation as to the liberty of the press.

This distinction is very often overlooked, at least in ordinary conversation, in England. The United States are considered a slave-holding country; while, in point of fact, there is not a slave in Pensylvania, New England, the State of New York, the new but great State of Ohio, in Indiana, Illinois, or in by far the greatest and freest part of the confederacy. There are as different regulations in the different states as to the liberty of the press, as respecting slavery. The liberty of the press can hardly be said to exist in Louisiana, or Georgia, while in most of the northern states it is enjoyed, almost, I may say, without control.

The union, in fine, is limited to distinct objects. In other respects, the twenty-four states are separate re-

publics, with which the congress and general government cannot in any shape interfere.

In most of the states, Pensylvania, Ohio, New York State, and a very large portion of the confederacy, elections are conducted by ballot, which is becoming more and more universal;—the states of Connecticut, Kentucky, and Louisiana, having lately adopted it instead of the vote *viva voce*. The right to elect is generally, but not without considerable exceptions in some of the states, bestowed on all males, twenty-one years old, excluding persons against whom infamous punishments have been awarded.

In the State of New York, the Senate consists of thirty-two members, elected for four years; the House of Assembly of 128 members, annually elected. All white men have a right to vote who have resided a year in the state, and half a year in the town and county, where they tender their vote, and are possessed of qualifications, which all have, by payment of a tax, however trifling, on real or personal property, or by being called out to work on the highways. Free men of colour are entitled to vote after three years' residence, provided they are possessed of a freehold estate of the value of 250 dollars.

The State of New York, the population of which now considerably exceeds 1,800,000 persons, and comprehends 46,500 square miles, is divided into fifty-six counties, each consisting of from 700 to 900 square miles.

Each county has its sheriff, coroners, and clerk; and

is divided into townships, each containing from seventy to ninety square miles, sometimes a little more, each of which has its supervisors, assessors, clerk, constables, and road-overseers. The townships are arranged in subdivisions, each of which has school-overseers and road-surveyors.

All the appointments are made by the male inhabitants, twenty-one years old. Most of the office-holders, except the sheriffs, who are elected for three years, are appointed every year; but there is no objection to the same persons being reappointed.

Each township is a district for the elections to the Congress, and to the local state, which take place together at three stations chosen by the town officers, named annually by the people, the election being thus to be completed on 3d, 4th, and 5th November 1828. No voter has in this way to travel above a few miles, in order to exercise his franchise, nor is he necessarily detained from his occupation above a few hours.

Ballston Spa is the county town of the county of Saratoga, which consists of twenty townships, the whole population of the county being, as nearly as can be ascertained from the last census, about 37,000, and that of the township of Ballston about 2000. The officers of that township had thus only in the course of three days to collect the lists for ballot boxes from about 2000 people; at Ballston itself, probably from a smaller number than 800 persons.

The secretaries of state of the respective states give written notices to the sheriffs of each county of the pe-

riods of general and state elections, which, certified by the sheriffs, are published in the newspapers for some months before the election. The following appeared in the Ballston Spa Gazette:

"State of New York, Secretary's Office, Albany, August 12, 1828.

SIR,—I hereby give you notice, that, at the next general election, a governor and lieutenant-governor are to be elected: and also that a senator is to be chosen in the fourth senate district, in place of John Crary, whose term of service will expire on the last day of December next.

And that an elector of president and vice-president is to be chosen for the seventeenth congressional district.

A. C. FLAGG, *Sec. of State.*

"*To the Sheriff of the County of Saratoga.*"

"I certify the above to be a true copy, as received by me, L. B. LANGWORTHY, *Shff.*

"BALLSTON SPA, *August* 16, 1828."

It was on the 5th November that I was present at the election at Ballston Spa, held in one of the hotels, about the door of which twenty or thirty people might be standing. My friend Mr Brown introduced me, and got me a place at the table. I must confess that I have been seldom more disappointed at a public meeting. The excitement occasioned by the election generally was declared by the newspapers to be far greater than had ever been witnessed since the declaration of indepen-

dence in 1776. And at Ballston Spa, any irritation which existed had been increased by an attack made a few days previous to the election by the local press, and by hand-bills, on the moral character of one of the candidates,—a gentleman who had filled a high office in Congress, and who resided in the neighbourhood. I was therefore prepared for some fun, for some ebullition of humour, or of sarcastic remark, or dry wit, to which Americans are said to be prone. But all was dumb show, or the next thing to it. The ballot-boxes were placed on a long table, at which half a dozen of the inspectors or canvassers of votes were seated. The voters approached the table by single files. Not a word was spoken. Each voter delivered his list, when he got next to the table to the officers, who called out his name. Any person might object, but the objection was instantly decided on,—the officers having no difficulty, from their knowledge of the township, of the persons residing in it, and to whose testimony reference was instantly made, in determining on the spot, whether the qualification of the voter was or was not sufficient. I need hardly say, that I did not attend this excessively uninteresting sort of meeting for any long time; but I am bound to bear this testimony in its favour, that so quiet a day of election, both without and within doors, I never witnessed either in Scotland or England. I did not see or hear of a drunk person in the street of the village or neighbourhood, nor did I observe any thing extraordinary, except the increased number of carriages or waggons of all kinds, three or four of them drawn by

four horses, one by six. We were residing close by the hotel where the election took place, and in the evening the tranquillity was as complete as if no election had occurred.

The county canvassers for the twenty townships of this county of Saratoga afterwards met, and made up their returns for the county, in all of which, as well as in the whole of the state, the same quietness and perfect order prevailed. The number of votes given in this state for the electors of the president was 276,176, in a population of upwards of 1,800,000; and that this part of the election was most keenly contested, is obvious from the recorded fact, that the majority for Jackson over Adams in this state only amounted to 5350. The total number of votes given in the presidential election on this occasion was afterwards ascertained to be nearly 1,200,000, in a population of about twelve millions, of which the whole states are composed.

Thus, in a state far exceeding Scotland in extent, and almost equalling it in population, the votes for the chief magistrate of the United States and his substitute, —for the governor and lieutenant-governor of the state, —for a senator and representatives to Congress,—for three representatives to the State of New York,—for four coroners, a sheriff, and a clerk to the county were taken,—and the business of the election finished with ease, and with the most perfect order and decorum, in three days. All voted by ballot, which is here considered the only way to obtain independent and unbiassed votes; and if so in this country, how much

more in the British islands, where the aristocracy and higher orders are so infinitely more powerful, influential, and numerous. The late eminent Dr Dwight, President of Yale College in Connecticut, describes an election meeting in New England very much as I witnessed it here. After declaring that he had never known a single shilling paid for a vote, he says, "I have lived long in New England. On the morning of an election day, the electors assemble either in a church, or a town-house, in the centre of the township, of which they are inhabitants. The business of the day is sometimes introduced by a sermon, and very often by public prayer. A moderator is chosen. The votes are given in with strict decency, without a single debate,—without noise, or disorder, or drink—and with not a little of the sobriety seen in religious assemblies. The meeting is then dissolved; the inhabitants return quietly to their homes, and have neither battles nor disputes. I do not believe that a single woman, bond or free, ever appeared at an election in New England since the colonization of the country. It would be as much as her character was worth."

Dr Dwight's authority, however, is not greater than many others to which I might refer. Chancellor Kent of New York is a person of the greatest respectability as a man, and of the highest character as a lawyer. In his Commentaries, which is quite a standard book, he bears this evidence on the subject of elections: "The United States, in their improvements upon the rights of representation, may certainly claim pre-eminence

over all other governments, ancient and modern. Our elections are held at stated seasons, established by law. The people vote by ballot in small districts; and public officers preside over the elections, receive the votes, and maintain order and fairness. Though the competition between candidates is generally active, and the zeal of rival parties sufficiently excited, the elections are everywhere conducted with tranquillity." Chancellor Kent retired from his judicial situation at the age of sixty, in terms of a law of the State. He is now the chief consulting lawyer at New York; and his revenue, owing to the weight attached to his opinions, which are applied for in all important cases, is said to be greater than when he was in office.

The testimony of Joseph Gerald, a martyr to the sincerity with which he, at a period not so recent, advocated the propriety of resorting to the same form of elections in Great Britain, before biassed judges and a biassed jury, at a time of great political excitement in Scotland, will long be remembered. "I myself," he declared, in his speech on his celebrated trial before the Supreme Criminal Court in Scotland, "resided during four years in a country where every man who paid taxes had a right to vote,—I mean the Commonwealth of Pensylvania. I was an eye-witness of many elections which took place in Philadelphia, the capital of the State,—an industrious and populous city, and can safely assert, that no one riot ever ensued."

Mr James Flint, who travelled in the United States about a dozen of years ago, and whose scrupulous cor-

rectness of narration is well known to all who know him, in his published letters from America, states his views as to their elections thus:—"A few days ago I witnessed the election of a member of Congress for the State of Indiana. Members for the State Assembly, and county officers, and the votes for the township of Jeffersonville, were taken by ballot in one day. No quarrels or disorder occurred. At Louisville, in Kentucky, the poll was kept open for three days. The votes were given *viva voce*. I saw three fights in the course of an hour. This method appears to be productive of as much discord here as in England." With relation to the ballot, I would only farther add, that a great point gained by it is celerity; 10,000 votes can easily be taken in five or six hours.

The act against bribery in elections, or for any elective office in the State of New York, is extremely strict. Punishment by imprisonment and fine, to be awarded against all persons, whether candidates or their friends, or persons acting for them, who, with a view to promote their election, furnish entertainment, pay, or engage to pay for it, or give compensation of any kind, to any person or persons, in order to promote an election. The expence of printing in all ways, by handbills, &c. is excepted, and to the press, accordingly, the candidates and their friends resort not unsparingly. The newspapers, since we came to this country, have been filled with paragraphs for and against Jackson; and reports of meetings,—conventions, as they are generally called,—and caucus meetings, as they are some-

times called,—appeared daily in the papers, stating, with no great delicacy, the reasons for supporting one or other of the candidates for the presidency. The word Caucus is of real Yankee or New England origin. A dispute having occurred a short time previous to the revolution, between a party of the English soldiery at Boston, and some rope-makers and caulkers, a scuffle ensued, in which the military fired, and some lives were lost. The citizens of Boston held meetings for the purpose of considering what was to be done, which the British, in derision, called Caulkers' Meetings. Caulkers' meetings have been changed into caucus meetings; and the latter term not unfrequently applied to preparatory meetings of any kind, generally previous to an election. Such meetings are convoked by any of the people without the sanction of a convener, often unanimously. A chairman is appointed. Friends of the candidate for an office propose him, and state their grounds for doing so. A vote is taken, and the proceedings published. Such proceedings, on occasion of an election for the State Assembly, may be held in every county of the state, and give previous information who is likely to be proposed, and to succeed, but no one is bound by them. These meetings are nurseries for public speaking, and have a powerful effect in giving readiness of utterance to the people generally, and in working off the keenness and excitement which might otherwise, in some degree, prevail on the election day. The following proceedings of meetings on opposite sides were published in all the neighbouring newspapers for some

time antecedent to the late election. There are many other minutes and resolutions of the same kind, of far greater length, in the newspapers. I copy the first from the Saratoga Sentinel of 7th October, and the other from the Ballston Spa Gazette of 3d November.

"REPUBLICAN MEETING IN EDINBURGH.

"At a numerous and respectable meeting of the Republicans of the town of Edinburgh, held at the inn of Major Weeks Copeland, in said town, on the 13th day of September 1828, for the purpose of appointing delegates to attend the county convention, and for taking into consideration the present presidential contest, John Rhodes was called to the chair, and Martin H. Butler was appointed secretary.

"The committee appointed for the purpose reported the following resolutions, which were adopted without a dissentient voice:—

"Resolved, That it is not only the privilege, but the duty, of republicans, to inquire into the conduct of those who are appointed to rule, detect and arrest their encroachments to power, and to check examples of evil and corruption; and that it is the opinion of this meeting, that the present crisis is one which calls loudly for an investigation.

"Resolved, That we cannot support the present administration in its unexampled expenditures,—its misrule of national concerns,—its contempt of some of our most distinguished citizens,—its profuse rewards lavished upon

favourites,—its neglect of its dignity by its various electioneering journies through the country,—and its unwarrantable means to sustain its existence, and secure a re-election.

"Resolved, That we believe General Andrew Jackson is the man 'who has filled the measure of his country's glory, whose services to this nation entitle him to its highest rewards;' that by his sound principles, by his ardent attachment to his country in times of peril and danger,—by his devotion to democracy,—by his unostentatious life,—and by his unexampled services to this nation,—he is well fitted to check the progress of prodigality, stay the march of corruption, and to reinstate the government in the purity of its lost and abandoned principles.

"Resolved, That, for these and other considerations, we approve of the nomination of General Andrew Jackson, and that we will use our best endeavours to secure his election.

"Resolved, That our confidence in him is not lessened by believing that he will come to his high office directly from the people, without abusing the contingent fund, unaided by cabinet connexion, by the 'line of safe precedents,' or by pledges, intrigue, and management.

"Resolved, That we approve of the nomination of John C. Calhoun for the office of vice-president; believing that, during his whole political life, he has conducted himself in such a manner as to warrant us in supporting him for that office.

" Resolved, That we do not thank some of our administration members of Congress for basely prostituting their privilege of franking, by sending through the country such multitudes of papers, pamphlets, and hand-bills, containing spurious electioneering matter, too palpably false and absurd to be credited by any body of civilized men, much more by enlightened republicans.

" Resolved, That we disapprove of the nomination of governor and lieutenant-governor of this state, recently made at Utica by the administration party; because it has the stamp of coalition management endeavouring to encroach upon the privilege of this state, by sending one of our national ministers of justice into the bounds of our local politics, and to connect the anti-masonic with the presidential question, whereby the honest feelings of that class of our fellow citizens are made subservient to the ends of that party, whose only hope hangs on extremities.

" Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the chairman and secretary, and published in the Saratoga Sentinel and Waterford Reporter.

" JOHN RHODES, *Chairman.*

" M. H. BUTLER, *Secretary.*"

" THE AMERICAN SYSTEM.

" *Republican Administration Convention.*

" At a convention of delegates friendly to the administration of the national government, from all the towns in the County of Saratoga, held at the court house, in the village of Ballston Spa, on Wednes-

day, the 22d day of October 1828, General John Prior was called to the chair, and John House and James M'Crea, Esquires, were chosen secretaries.

" Resolved, That the present enlightened and patriotic administration of our national government is entitled to our warmest support, and that we will use all honourable means to promote the election of John Quincy Adams for president, and Richard Rush for the office of vice-president of the United States.

" Resolved, That we heartily approve of the nomination of Smith Thompson for governor, and Francis Granger for lieutenant-governor of this State, and will support them at the ensuing election to the utmost of our abilities.

" Resolved, That we have full confidence in the talents and integrity of John M'Lean Junior, of Washington county, and cordially unite with the Republican Convention of this senate district, in recommending him for the office of senator of this state.

" Resolved, That the delegates from each town appoint one of their number to compose a select committee, with instructions to report, for the consideration of the Convention, the names of candidates for the county offices, to be filled at the ensuing election.

" The said committee having retired, and returned to the convention, reported their unanimous agreement to recommend the following candidates:—For elector, Salmon Child; for congress, John W. Taylor; for sheriff, John Dunning; for county clerk, Thomas Palmer; for members of assembly, Gilbert Waring,

Joshua Mandeville, and Calvin Wheeler; for coroners, Herman Rockwell, Dirck L. Palmer, Hugh Alexander, and Nathan D. Sherwood.

"Whereupon each recommendation having been again read, and separately considered, was unanimously approved by the convention.

"Resolved, That Salmon Child, Samuel Freeman, Edward Watrous, James M'Crea, Anson Brown, Increase W. Child, and Moses Williams, be a central committee for the ensuing year.

"Resolved, that the delegates appointed by the several towns to this convention be a committee of vigilance in their respective towns, to carry the above nominations into effect.

"Resolved, That the proceedings of the convention be signed by the chairman and secretaries, and published.

"ADDRESS.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS,—In a government like ours, where every individual holds in his hands a portion of the sovereign power, it is important that he should exercise the authority with which he is clothed with an enlightened judgment. The approaching presidential election is one of vital importance to the prosperity and happiness of these United States. It will determine, whether an enlightened and virtuous administration shall be prostrated or sustained, and whether measures deeply affecting the interests of a vast majority of our citizens shall be promoted or defeated. The present

administration of the general government is at the head of a great system of policy that promises to elicit the enterprize,—enlarge the resources,—increase the wealth,—and promote the independence of our country. Great Britain for a number of years past has refused to receive into her ports a single article of the growth or produce of the Northern and Middle States, while this country has been annually receiving from her millions in value of her manufactures. The consequence has been, that we have been drained of our gold and silver to pay for British goods. Our farmers have been without any adequate market for their surplus produce; and a pressure has been felt by every class in society, in consequence of this unequal intercourse. Our government has sought to remedy these evils by protecting American industry from the competition of foreign capital, by having our country act on the maxim of buying from those only that buy from us, by practically enforcing the doctrine inculcated by Jefferson, of planting the manufacturer and farmer side by side, thereby creating a domestic market for the surplus produce of our soil. It is for its adherence to this system of policy,—so congenial to our situation,—so inseparable from our prosperity,—and so honourable to our character,—that the present administration has been assailed. Our fellow-citizens of the south have indulged in factious and treasonable threats of dissolving the union, unless they can succeed in defeating the re-election of Mr Adams. We trust, fellow-citizens, that you are not prepared to sacrifice your own interest to

gratify an unhallowed faction, by the overthrow of the present administration of the general government.

"If you are not,—if you are prepared to assert your own rights against the factious violence of the south,—rally to the polls, and sustain the cause of principle and our country.

"The candidates we have presented to you for your suffrages have long been known to most of you. They are decided friends of the administration, and their qualifications for the respective offices, for which they are nominated, are unquestionable.

"JOHN PRIOR, *Chairman.*

"JOHN HOUSE,
"JAMES M'CREA, } *Secretaries.*"

The issue of the elections is announced to the electors and the public by certified notices, in the following form, inserted in the newspapers. I insert that return of the Ballston elections which relates to the greatest number of offices, the members of state assembly, and local or county offices.

"OFFICIAL CANVASS.—SARATOGA COUNTY.

"*Assembly, Sheriff, Clerk, and Coroners.*

"We, the board of county canvassers of the votes taken at a general election, held in the said county, on the 3d, 4th, and 5th days of November 1828, having received the statements of the votes taken at such election, in the respective towns of Ballston, Charlton, Clifton, Concord, Corinth, Edinburgh, Galway, Green-

field, Hadley, Halfmoon, Malta, Milton, Moreau, Northumberland, Providence, Saratoga, Saratoga Springs, Stillwater, Waterford, and Wilton, and having upon such statements, duly canvassed and estimated the votes given in the said county at such election, do certify, that 19,456 votes were given in the said county for the office of members of assembly; 6529 votes for the office of sheriff; 6535 votes for the office of clerk; and 25,837 votes for the office of coroner. Of the votes thus given for the office of member of assembly, Gilbert Waring received 3551; Joshua Mandeville, 3678; Calvin Wheeler, 3303; Jesse Robertson, 2923; Harvey Granger, 3131; and Samuel Stimson, 2864; Francis Granger, one; Samuel Stimps, one; Harvey Grange, one; Gilbert, two; J. Mandeville, one votes.

" Of the votes thus given for the office of sheriff, John Dunning received 3663; and Hugh Hawkins, 2862; Dunning three; J. Dunning, one votes.

" Of the votes thus given for the office of clerk, Thomas Palmer received 3586; Oran G. Otis, 2945; Anson Brown, one; Thomas Palmer, one; Thomas Parmer, one votes.

" Of the votes thus given for the office of coroner, Herman Rockwell received 3259; Hugh Alexander, 3601; Dick L. Palmer, 6375; Nathan D. Sherwood, 3189; Eliphalet St John, 2861; John Vernam, 2874; Iva Heath, 2847; John W. Taylor, one; Wheaton Wood, 405; James Barker, 307; Derick L. Palmer,

116; Thomas Mairs, one; Thomas J. Marvin, one; Samuel Vanness, one, votes.

"The Board of County Canvassers therefore determine and declare, that Gilbert Waring, Joshua Mandeville, and Calvin Wheeler, by the greatest number of votes, were duly elected members of assembly:

"That John Dunning, by the greatest number of votes, was duly elected sheriff:

"That Thomas Palmer, by the greatest number of votes, was duly elected clerk:

"That Herman Rockwell, Hugh Alexander, Dirck L. Palmer, and Nathan D. Sherwood, by the greatest number of votes, were duly elected coroners.

"In witness whereof, we have caused this statement to be attested, according to law, by the signatures of our chairman and secretary. Dated Ballston Spa, this 11th day of November, in the year 1828.

"ELY BEECHER, *Chairman.*

"THOMAS PALMER, *Secretary.*"

Very soon after this election, the excitement created by it appeared to us to have altogether subsided, and no traces of ill humour seemed to remain with those most opposed to each other. They associated with each other as if nothing had happened to interrupt their harmony. We have heard it often observed in this country, that differences on political subjects, or at election meetings, are unattended with those estrangements which they occasion elsewhere, where votes, and the rights to vote, are subject of purchase and sale.

The truth of this remark was strikingly demonstrated on occasion of La Fayette's arrival in the United States in the autumn of 1824. At that period, the contest between Adams and Jackson for the presidency for the four years commencing in March 1825, was carried on with the greatest keenness, and the newspapers were almost filled with statements of the claims of the candidates, and political squibs relative to the election. On La Fayette's appearance a total change took place. The newspapers closed their columns against all such effusions, the disputes of party seemed to be at an end. The supporters of both candidates vied with each other in showing attentions to the guest of the nation. Their broils were forgotten, and they associated together as if no cause of difference existed between them.

La Fayette was himself at Washington on the day when it was announced that Adams was elected, and in the evening present at a large party given by Mrs Monroe, the wife of the president in office. He was there in time to witness the first meeting after the issue of the election was known between Adams and Jackson, who, the moment they recognized each other, hastened to meet, and to take each other cordially by the hand.

CHAPTER XII.

State of Agriculture—Mr Stimson's Farm—Situation—Division of Farm—Soil—Rotation—Produce—Agricultural Premiums—Maize —Mrs Stimson's attention to us—Price of Labour—Advantages of the Americans over the European Emigrant—Clearing of the Ground— A Frolic—Dwelling-Houses—Orchard—Crops—Period of Sowing —Hay—Green Crops—Dr Dwight as to Quality of Uncleared Land —Crops—Hogs—Silk—Woodland—Prices of Grain—Wages of Labour—Manures—Gypsum—Bargain when Land is Let—Fences— Roads—Horses and Cattle—Agricultural Shows—Sheep—Hogs— Poultry—Implements of Husbandry.

November 1828.

On the 18th of November, we made an excursion to the township of Galway, with a view to see Mr Stimson's farm, about eleven miles from Ballston Spa. Mr Stimson is a very enterprizing person, has an extensive farm, a large hotel, and great stores as a merchant. We are told that there is no farm within our reach at present so well entitled to notice. Mr Burtis, our Saratoga charioteer, carried us to it. We were unlucky in not finding Mr Stimson at home, but Mrs Stimson was extremely communicative and obliging, most especially considering that we had no introduction to her.

The situation of the farm is very elevated, with the

highway running through it. Of 800 acres, of which the farm consists, Mr Stimson has about one-half in cultivation. His fences, horses, farm-houses, and the whole establishment are good, and in good order; and there is an appearance of activity and attention about the place that would do credit to the agriculturist of any country.

The whole land has been improved by Mr Stimson; it is laid off in fields of about eight acres, inclosed with stones gathered from the land in the lower part of the fence, and a frame of wood on the top of them. There are two rails above the stone, and about twenty miles of this sort of fence.

The soil is generally light, but Mr Stimson manures, though perhaps not so much as might here be done with advantage, yet a great deal more than most farmers in this country, and of course raises better crops. His general rotation is, 1. Maize, or Indian corn, with patches of potatoes or turnips on the edges of the field; 2. Barley, or sometimes oats; 3. Wheat, in which he sows five pounds clover seed, and two quarts timothy per acre. Then he cuts the timothy for two years and pastures for one. He breaks up the pasture for wheat, then takes a crop of maize, and follows the above rotation, manuring either on breaking up or with the maize. Land is less overrun with weeds here than in Britain, and for some time after being cleared, much richer in point of soil. In this view, the rotation by which crops of grain are taken consecutively may admit of justification to some extent. Yet I cannot but

suspect that the return would, on the whole, be greater if the manure was always applied to the maize or green crop, followed by only one grain crop of wheat, or oats, or barley, with which grass seeds are sown. The land would thus constantly be clean, and in good tilth, and the lesser number of grain crops would be compensated by their superior quality.

Mr Stimson has reported his produce from eighty-five acres to be what follows, after actual survey and examination; and while he can obtain such a return, he is well entitled to adhere to his own system.

10	acres of	Orchard ground produced	25 tons hay.
8	do.	Maize,	560 bushels.
8	do.	do.	720 do.
10	do.	do.	300 do. and 16 tons hay.
4	do.	Wheat,	140 do.
1	do.	Flax,	600 lbs.
8	do.	Oats,	560 bushels.
8	do.	Hay,	32 tons.
8	do.	do.	36 do.
1	do.	Barley,	60 bnshels.
3	do.	Hay,	10½ tons.
4	do.	do.	12 do.
8	do.	do.	24 do.
2	do.	do.	1000 bushels potatoes.
2	do.	in vegetables raised	400 chickens.

Mr Stimson has gained almost all the agricultural premiums in the county; for having the best managed farm; for having raised 104 bushels of maize on an acre; for having raised sixty-two bushels of barley on an acre; for having raised 357 bushels of potatoes on half an

acre; and for having raised five tons of timothy hay per acre.

The field of maize on this farm, when well-hoed and cleaned by the plow, cannot fail in summer to give a very gay appearance to the field,—even superior to that of the best dressed green crops to which the eye of a British farmer is accustomed; but, at this season, the want of those green crops of turnips, mangel wurzel, ruta baga, &c. which, as well as potatoes, are only raised in small portions in the margins of the fields, creates a great blank. The maize is the great article used, not merely as the cleaning crop, but for feeding horses, cattle, and poultry, for which it is admirably adapted.

When we returned from the fields, we found a very nice dinner prepared for us, and a bottle of wine on the table. Mrs Stimson had previously dined, but gave us the pleasure of her company; and was, I believe, not less inquisitive in putting questions to us respecting land-management in Scotland, than we respecting that in this neighbourhood.

On coming away, we found, that there was no bill to pay, for ourselves, Mr Burtis, or horses. Mrs Stimson could make no charge on strangers, who had paid them a visit, in order to see the farm; she only regretted that we could not stay some days with them. We find all the farmers in this part of the country, whom we meet in our pretty extensive perambulations, communicative, and well-informed on the subject of their management, perfectly aware of the importance of fal-

lows and green crops; but generally of opinion, that they dare not attempt that system, on account of the high price of labour in this country in relation to the value of land, *ne sumptus fructum superet*, according to the advice of Varro. The price of labour, too, is the great obstacle to all sorts of ornamental improvement, such as the formation of gardens, and keeping them up. Making, therefore, the necessary allowance for change of circumstances and situation, there does not seem to be any ground for charging the American agriculturist with want of knowledge, or of activity and enterprize.

In originally dispossessing the forest, and clearing the ground, the American has great advantages over the European emigrant. He understands the use of the axe from his infancy, and much more rapidly brings the trees to the ground. His house and fences are far more economically erected. His employment in these operations is that to which he has been all his life accustomed. His health does not suffer, as a strauger's does, from the hardships to which he is in the meantime exposed, nor from the exhalations which always accompany the clearing of woodland, and which are so apt in this country to produce fever and ague. My present impression is, that it is far more advisable for an emigrant to pay a little for land *lately* cleared, though at a price exceeding the sum actually expended, than to risk his own health and that of his family; but let him be well advised, and not acquire land, already impoverished by cropping, and which has become foul, and lost

the vegetable mould,—the efficacy of which renders the use of manure for a time unnecessary. Let him, above all, be satisfied, before he fixes on a situation, that there is good wholesome water near the spot, where his house is to be placed; and that the district of country is, generally speaking, healthy. Water is very frequently bad in this country; and often impregnated with lime to so great an extent that it cannot be used with safety. One of the first questions that a traveller, on arriving at a hotel, puts, is, whether the water is good? and it is extremely difficult to get information that can be depended on, either as to the quality of the water, or the comparative healthiness of the place. The inhabitants already settled and possessed of property have an obvious interest to make favourable representations. In many cases, where emigrants do not show due caution, they not only expose themselves and their families to disease, but to that sinking and depression of spirits, which frequently results from discouragements and difficulties, so likely to incapacitate for the necessary exertions, especially in a country, to many of the customs of which they are strangers.

After a portion of the ground is cleared, and the necessary accommodation for the family of the new settler obtained on the spot, the maize of the first crop, which is generally abundant, in consequence of the effect of the vegetable mould, the accumulation of ages, gives a sure supply for the family, and the necessary horses and cattle; —and a regular arrangement, according to the settler's means, is fixed for proceeding in clearing and

increasing the ploughable land, either by girdling the trees, or taking them out altogether. A tree is said to be girdled when the bark is cut round, so as completely to destroy the vessels, by which the process of circulation is conducted. Part of the foliage generally remains for the first year.

The general practice is to cut down and remove such trees as are best suited for the houses to be built, and for fencing, and to set fire to the remainder, and to the rubbish on the field;—the fire, of course, consumes a considerable part of the girdled trees; and until they decay, it has a melancholy desolate appearance, even though covered with luxuriant crops, which it at first bears. Many of the trees are black from top to bottom, and all going fast to decay, and tumbling with a crash, as you pass them. This method of bringing land into cultivation is not, however, by any means universal. In many cases, the whole wood is cut down, and the land at once cleared; and a fine crop of maize, perhaps forty or fifty bushels per acre, raised, with very little exertion on the part of the cultivator, from the rich virgin soil.

It is not unusual for the neighbouring farmers to assist in conveying the wood, and in the other operations for putting up the first log-house for the settler's family, which is quickly completed. When neighbours in this or other similar works lend their assistance for a day, they call it a frolic, and all work with alacrity. This house, though rudely constructed, is, so far as I have seen, far better in point of accommoda-

tion than cottages for farm-overseers in Britain; and it is only meant as a temporary dwelling-house, until other matters are so far arranged as to give leisure to the settler to erect a comfortable abode. The permanent dwelling-houses are fully equal in extent and appearance to the average farm-houses of Britain. There is no want of comfort. The house is always placed near a spring, from which the farmer has his supply of water; and over the spring he frequently places his milk-house, which also is constructed for keeping meat. An ice-house, too, is now very generally reckoned necessary for the accommodation of the family. About the house, there are usually a few weeping-willows and locust-trees, both fine trees in this country, the latter, too, most useful. The garden, though close to the house, is, as already mentioned, apparently in bad order, and frequently not inclosed; but the soil and climate are such, that, with very little labour, abundance of vegetables are raised.

An apple orchard, with some peach and plum-trees, is almost always to be found within a few hundred yards of the house; and at about the same distance, if the farm is not near a village, is a small bit of ground inclosed as the burying-ground,—the grave-yard, as it is here called, of the family.

The various crops raised in that part of the State of New York which I have seen are very much the same as in Britain, with the addition of maize, for which the climate of Britain is not well adapted. Wheat, however, is the most valuable crop. A con-

siderable quantity of buck-wheat and rye is grown. The greater degree of heat is not favourable for oats and barley. Potatoes, turnips, and other green crops, are not at all generally cultivated in large fields. Rotations of crops are far too little attended to. I observe in the magazines and almanacks, that in the rotations, a crop of turnips, ruta baga, or other green plants, is generally put down as one part of the course; but I have nowhere seen more than the margins or edges of the maize, or other grain, devoted to green crop, properly so called. The attention of the farmers seem chiefly directed to the raising enough of maize for home consumption, and of wheat for sale; and when you talk to them of the necessity of manuring, with a view to preserve the fertility of the soil, they almost uniformly tell you, that the expence of labour, about a dollar a day, for labourers during the summer, renders it far more expedient for them, as soon as their repeated cropping very much diminishes the quantity of the grain, to lay down their land in grass, and make a purchase of new land in the neighbourhood, or even to sell their cleared land, and proceed in quest of a new settlement, than to adopt a system of rotation of crops assisted by manure. There is great inconvenience, according to the notions of the British, in removing from one farm to another; but they make very light work of it here, and consider it to be merely a question of finance, whether they shall remain on their improved land, after they have considerably exhausted its fertilizing power. In a great part of the northern district of the State of

New York, there is still a great deal of land to be cleared; and a farmer may, in many cases, acquire additions to his farm so near his residence that his houses may suit the purpose of his new acquisition; but he is more frequently tempted to sell at a price from fifteen to thirty dollars an acre, supposing the land not to be contiguous to any village. If he obtains land near his first farm, after he has worn it out, he lays down the first farm in grass, allows it to be pastured for some years, and breaks it up again with oats.

Maize, or Indian corn, which *par excellence* is alone in this country called corn, is a most important addition to the crops which we are able to raise in Britain. It is said to have been first found in the island of St Domingo. It is used as food for man in a great variety of ways, as bread, as porridge, in which case it is called Mush, and in puddings. When unripe, and in the green pod, it is not unlike green pease, and is in that state sold as a vegetable. One species in particular, called green corn, is preferable for this purpose. Broom corn is another species, which is reckoned best for poultry,—and of its stalks a most excellent kind of clothes' brush, in universal use at New York, is made. Horses, cattle, and poultry, are all fond of this grain, and thrive well on it. The straw is very nutritive, and considerable in quantity.

The usual period of sowing is from 15th May to 1st June, in drills from three and a-half to four and a-half feet apart, and the seed from four to six inches apart. It is harvested in October, sometimes later.

The hoe weeding and cleaning of this crop is expensive, the whole work being performed by males,—females, as already noticed, never being allowed to work out of doors. Pumpkins are very generally sown between the rows of corn, and give the field quite a golden appearance, after the corn itself is harvested.

Thirty-five or forty bushels of corn per acre is considered a good average crop on land suited to it, well-prepared, and well-managed, but 150 bushels have been raised on an acre. Arthur Young remarks, "that a country whose soil and climate admit the course of maize, and then wheat, is under a cultivation that perhaps yields the most food for man and beast that is possible to be drawn from the land!" That course is frequently adopted here, and with success, where the soil, lately cleared, is of the best description, and might, without question, be continued for many years, if a sufficient quantity of manure was allowed; but where such a course is persisted in without manure, after the land has been severely cropped, the crops which follow are inferior in quantity to crops of the same description on similar soils in Britain. As a cleaning crop, maize is most valuable, but being a culmiferous plant, it is of course far more exhausting than the green crops, which in Britain in most cases precede wheat.

Wheat is sown in the end of September, and some part of it in spring,—if after maize, it should be sown as soon as possible after that crop is harvested. It is reaped in July. It is excellent in quality; if the flour which we have seen in every place where we have been,

and the bread we eat, are tests by which to judge of it. The bread in this country is uniformly good, and in most places baked at home. Nothing can be superior to the bread baked in the boarding-house here. Thirty-five and forty bushels of wheat is considered a very abundant crop,—the average produce in that part of the United States in which wheat is grown is said not to exceed thirteen bushels, while in England it is reckoned at twenty-five bushels.

Barley or oats very frequently succeed wheat, before the land is laid down in grass, or again bears a crop of maize; but it is not to be understood that barley, and even oats, do not in many cases follow the crop of maize immediately, and precede the wheat crop.

Oats are sown in the end of April and beginning of May, and are reaped in August or the beginning of September. We saw several fields not cut, but no very great crop, in the northern part of this state in the beginning of September. Oats being of a less binding quality than other grain, are therefore generally preferred for horses in stages, or which are driven rapidly on the road. The average crop is said to be twenty bushels per acre, but from forty to fifty bushels are often obtained by good management. The grain is not so plump as in Britain. In 1827, the premium of one of the agricultural societies was given for fifty-seven bushels on an acre.

Barley is sown at about the same time as oats, and reaped two or three weeks earlier; the produce about one-fifth less than oats; but I observe the premium of

one of the agricultural societies adjudged in 1827 for fifty-eight bushels on an acre.

Both rye and buck-wheat are grown in far greater quantity than in Britain. Thirty-one bushels of rye were grown on an acre in 1828; but that is an uncommon quantity. Buck-wheat cakes are much relished at breakfast. They are brought to table hot, and consumed very greedily, after being covered with butter and molasses. I have not yet discovered them to be equal to flour cakes, but they appear to us to be the most popular breakfast bread in this country.

From what I have been told, I suspect it will be found, that after the effect of the vegetable matter on the surface of the land cleared is at an end, the average crops of all sorts of grain (maize excepted, which our climate does not allow,) are, according to the prevailing system of management in this state, a half, or nearly a half less than on similar soils in Britain.

Hay is very easily made, the weather being generally dry, and the sun, at the season of hay-making, so powerful, that the effect even of heavy rain continued for several hours is not visible on the roads or anywhere two or three hours after the rain ceases. A ton and a-half of hay per acre is reckoned a fair crop, worth about L. 2 per ton. Irrigation is practised in some places where we have been, and with success.

Potatoes, turnips, ruta-baga, pease, lucern, &c. are all to be seen here in small quantities, but not so well managed as in well cultivated districts of Britain. The high price of labour is the great obstacle to the manage-

ment which those crops require. It is not because the farmer does not understand his business that such crops are apparently not sufficiently attended to, but because he in all cases calculates whether it will not be more profitable for him to remove his establishment to a new and hitherto unimpoverished soil, than to commence and carry on an expensive system of cultivation, by manuring and fallow, or green crops. Such a system may be adopted in the neighbourhood of great towns, where many green crops are easily disposed of, and where manure can be had in large quantity, and at a cheap rate; but it is in vain to look for its adoption at all generally, or to expect to see agricultural operations in their best style, until the land even in the most distant states and territories be occupied, so that the farmer may no longer find it more for his interest to begin his operations anew on land previously uncultivated, than to manage his farm according to the method which will render it most productive.

Dr Dwight's statements respecting the objects of cultivators in acquiring new or uncleared land in this part of North America are well worthy of attention.

"In estimating the quality of new lands in America, serious errors are very commonly entertained, from the want of due attention to the following fact: Wherever the forests have been undisturbed by fire, they have accumulated, by shedding their foliage through a long succession of ages, and by their own decay, a covering of vegetable mould from six to twelve inches deep, and sometimes from eighteen to twenty-four. This mould

is the best of all soils, and eminently friendly to every species of vegetation. It is, indeed, no other than a mere mass of manure, and that of the very best kind, converted into mould, and, so long as it remains in considerable quantities, all grounds produce plentifully. Unless a proper allowance be made, therefore, when we are forming an estimate of the quality of soils, for the efficacy of this mould, which, so far as my observation has extended, is not often done, those on which it abounds will be of course overrated. On the contrary, where it does not abound, the quality of the soil will, in a comparative view, be underrated. Hence all maple lands which, from their moisture, are incapable of being burnt, are considered as more fertile than they ultimately prove; while oak, and even pine lands, are almost, of course, regarded as being less fertile. The maple lands in Ballston are found to produce wheat in smaller quantities, and of a worse quality, than the inhabitants, misled by the exuberance of their first crops, expected. Their pine lands, on the contrary, yield more and better wheat than, till very lately, they could be induced to believe. The same things severally are true, as I have already observed, of the oak and maple lands in the county of Ontario.

" From this source it has arisen that all the unburnt new lands in the northern, middle, southern, and western states have been, and still are, uniformly valued beyond their real worth. When the tract on the green mountains in Massachussetts was first settled, the same luxuriant fertility was attributed to it which has since

characterized Kentucky. About the same time it was ascribed to the valley of Housatonnuc, in the county of Berkshire. From these tracts it was transferred to the lands in New Hampshire and Vermont, on the Connecticut; and thence to those in Vermont, on the western side of the Green Mountains. From these regions the paradise has travelled to the western parts of the State of New York, to New Connecticut, to Upper Canada, to the countries on the Ohio, to the south-western territory, and is now making its progress over the Mississippi into the newly purchased regions of Louisiana. The accounts given of all these countries, successively, were extensively true, but the conclusions which were deduced from them were in a great measure erroneous. So long as this mould remains, the produce will regularly be great, and that with very imperfect cultivation,—for the mould in its native state is so soft and light, as scarcely to need the aid of the plough.

"But this mould, after a length of time, will be dissipated. Where lands are continually ploughed, it is soon lost; on those which are covered with grass from the beginning, it is preserved through a considerable period. At length, however, every appearance of its efficacy, and even of its existence, vanishes.

"The true object of inquiry, whenever the quality of a soil is to be estimated, is the nature of the earth immediately beneath the vegetable mould, for this, in every case, will ultimately be the soil. If this is capable of being rendered, by skilful cultivation, regu-

larly productive, the soil is good; if not, it is poor. With this object in view, I have formed the opinion expressed above, concerning the country under discussion. Throughout most of this tract, the earth beneath the mould is an excellent soil. The mould itself will speedily be gone. It is wisely and kindly provided by the Creator, to answer the immediate calls of the first settlers. These are of course few and poor,—are embarrassed by many wants and difficulties, and need their time and labour to build their houses, barns, and inclosures, as well as to procure, with extreme inconvenience, many articles of necessity and comfort, which are obtained in older settlements without labour or time. To them it is a complete and ample manure, on which whatever is sown springs with vigour, and produces, almost without toil or skill, a plentiful harvest. But it was not intended to be permanent; it is not even desirable that it should be. To interrupt, or even to slacken, the regular labour of man materially, is to do him an injury. One of the prime blessings of temperate climates is this, that they yield amply to skilful labour, and without it yield little or nothing. Where such is the fact, energy and effort will follow, and all their inestimable consequences. Where countries are radically barren, man will despair."

Besides the vegetable mould above the soil, the farmers possess many advantages over a British agriculturist. Maize is an invaluable crop. Their hay and crops of all kinds are hardly ever damaged by bad weather. The heat of the sun is, as I am told, in this country of-

ten enough in a single day to make the hay crop, so that not only the expence of making it is saved, but all loss in making it avoided. Live stock of all kinds are much healthier than with us, which is attributed to the greater prevalence of wet weather in Britain.

Clover and all sorts of grass seeds are used. Much more timothy is grown in this country than in any part of Britain. None of the pastures that I have seen have the beautiful appearance of English meadows, nor are highly dressed fields any where to be found. The management which is requisite,—by frequent ploughings, rolling, and cleaning,—is far too expensive to be attempted here. There is, however, much fine verdure by the sides of the rivers.

Orchards are very productive. The crab-apple, of which much cyder is made, is worth about sixpence per bushel, but a considerable quantity of engrafted fruit is generally used with it. The engrafted fruit is here worth, according to its quality, from tenpence to two shillings per bushel. I have hitherto seen no apple for the table superior to the Newton pippin, but there is an apple of a deep-red colour, very good, which, we are told, is more used immediately after the apples are gathered. Cyder, as already mentioned, is for the most part very inferior to English cyder, and sold at from two to four dollars per barrel of thirty wine gallons. A bushel of apples should yield three gallons of liquor, sometimes more. The Shakers, a religious sect, who have two establishments in this state, are said to make excellent cyder of a much higher price,—ten dollars per barrel.

The price of the Newton pippin is from half a dollar to four shillings per bushel. Melons are grown extensively for family use. Pumpkins to be used in puddings, as well as for cattle, are very common. There is no such thing as a dinner without an apple or pumpkin pye.

Hops are cultivated, but not extensively, in the districts where we have hitherto been. We have seen very little malt liquor, and London porter more frequently called for than any other malt liquor.

The culture of silk has been long prosecuted, but not on a great scale, in various parts of the United States. Coercive laws for the cultivation of mulberry trees were passed by James I., and about the middle of the seventeenth century; but, though the silk trade still maintains itself, it is nowhere carried on extensively. One farmer on Cayuga Lake very lately was selling silk to the amount of about 600 dollars a year.

The woodland is valuable not only as fuel, but on account of the food and shelter it affords for cattle. There is no underwood, the trees being so close to each other, that the sun has little influence below them. In many parts of the country where we have been, no more of the woodland remains than is necessary with a view to what is required for fuel and for farm purposes. In some places, especially near Geneva, where it was pointed out to us, too much wood has already been cut. Wherever a sufficient quantity of land has been cleared, the woodland of a farm bears as high a price per acre as the land actually cleared. The trees are of far greater height than in Britain,—sometimes above eighty feet

high,—and always are of healthy appearance, and with the bark clean. I have seen no trees of great circumference, owing to their being in a far too crowded state in the forest.

There are numerous varieties of the oak, of which the white oak, adapted for many useful purposes, is the most valuable, and a noble tree. The hiccory and black walnut, the chesnut, the plane, *(Platanus occidentalis,)* the maple, the ash, the beech, the elm, the tulip tree, here called poplar, *(Liriodendron tulipifera)* and wild cherry, are the ordinary trees, with red cedar, and a variety of the pine tribe. The plane and tulip trees are the largest. The pines are generally on inferior land in the American continent. The locust tree, as well as the weeping willow,—and in some places the Lombardy poplar,—have been extensively planted. The poplar is now excluded; but the locust is not only a beautiful tree, but of excellent wood, and now much attended to. The locust and cedar are preferred for wooden railings on account of their durability. Posts of locust, and rails of cedar, will, it is said, last for forty or fifty years. They tell you here, that the uppermost part of the post, when growing, is that which should be driven into the ground. I suspect, however, that the durability of railings in this country is mainly to be attributed to the dryness of the climate. The frequent alternation of wet and dry weather which prevails in Britain is unknown here. The locust tree, though a native of the United States, was not found north or east of the Potomac river until after the coun-

try was settled, and has, of course, not been long introduced into the north-western part of the State of New York. For beauty, and utility, and quick growth combined, it is unrivalled. The best materials for ship-building are the live oak of the southern states for the lower timbers, the locust and cedar for the upper works, and the pine for decks, masts, and spars. Nothing can be superior to maple for inside finishing. No other descriptions of wood are more desirable for ship-building. The locust timber is so hard, that it is in this country now uniformly preferred to oak for the tillers of large ships. The sumach is in autumn one of the finest of the larger shrubs on the edge of the forest. It grows to a great size, and is of a deep-red colour; but no plant is so beautiful as the wild vine, which climbs to the tops of many of the highest trees, and is often trained to the porticos, the verandas, and roofs of the houses. Its colours are all shades of red and pink. The frost in winter is too severe for most of the evergreen shrubs which now abound in Britain, and give so much interest and shelter to a winter shrubbery. These shrubs are, however, to be found in the greenhouses attached to nursery grounds, and require great care, as their price,—a couple of shillings, or half a dollar, for a single plant,—proves.

Prices of grain vary much. Wheat is, of course, the grain which the farmer chiefly raises for market, and he considers himself remunerated if the price is not below a dollar for a bushel. Flour, when wheat is at a dollar per bushel, is expected to bring somewhat more than

five dollars per barrel of 196 lbs. Indian corn, 2s. to 2s. 6d. per bushel; oats, 1s. 2d. to 1s. 4d.; barley, 1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d.

It is difficult to give any precise information as to the wages of labour. A hired servant gets from ten to twelve dollars a month besides his board, which he very frequently has at table with his master, consisting of animal food three times a-day. Labourers hired by the day for those sorts of farm work in which women are employed in Britain, such as hoeing, assisting in cleaning grain, and even milking of cows, get about three quarters of a dollar per day,—in time of hay-making or harvest-work, frequently a dollar besides their board. The workmen work, or are said to work, from daylight to sunset; but I doubt, from any thing I have seen, whether the ordinary plan of keeping workmen employed for ten hours a-day be not as profitable for the employer as well as the workman. The days are never so long in summer, nor so short in winter, as in Britain. The sun rises on 21st June about half-past four, and sets at half-past seven; on 21st December rises at half-past seven, and sets at half-past four.

Manures are far too little attended to, as has been already noticed; but there are instances of individuals keeping their land in good heart with manure, especially where, as in many parts of the State of New York, gypsum and lime are in the neighbourhood. Gypsum is more used than any other manure, and with great effect, generally in about the quantity of a ton to ten or fifteen acres. Manure from the villages is often sold

at and under a shilling per ton. The question which the American settler always puts to himself is, whether it will be more expedient for him, in point of expence, to remove to a new soil covered with vegetable mould, or to remain on his cleared land, and to support its fertility by regularly manuring, and a systematic rotation of crops ?

Land is almost always in this country in the possession of the proprietors, except in the neighbourhood of New York, and some of the larger towns and villages, such as Albany, Troy, Rochester, &c. When it is let, the bargain generally is, that the landlord shall provide half of the seed, and receive half of the produce, but these contracts of course vary according to the description of the land, its condition, vicinity to market, &c. In case of pasture farms let in whole, or in part, in shares, one half of the stock, in like manner, belongs to the proprietor. General Washington a long time ago proposed to let some very large farms of wheat land at Mount Vernon, on the Potomac River, about ten miles from Washington, at a bushel and a-half of wheat per acre. —See his published Letters to Sir John Sinclair, p. 36.

Fences are in most cases erected before land is cropped, in order to protect the crops from cattle and cows put out to pasture on the pieces of green sward in the neighbourhood of the villages, on the road sides, and in the forests. The cows have bells about their necks, by which they are found if they stray. I have nowhere seen a line fence, all of wooden railings, or stone walls.

Roads are made and kept in repair by the work of

the inhabitants actually called out. The roads are not usually covered with small broken stones, but are merely formed in a rough way, so as to keep off the water, and the holes and ruts are immediately filled up with clay, or earth, when they occur. It is astonishing how well such roads answer the purpose, though certainly very inferior to our Macadamized roads, or to well-made roads of any description; but there are so few rainy days in this country, and the ground dries so rapidly after rain, that we have seldom seen deep ruts or holes in the roads, and have for the most part proceeded on our journies in the stages at the rate of six and seven miles an hour. We are told, however, that on the melting of the snow in the spring, the roads, as might be expected, become deep and almost impassable for a few days, until the ruts and holes are filled, and the sun dries them. There are in many parts of the states instances of Macadamized roads, and of turnpike roads, made by commissioners or trustees, invested with the necessary powers by the legislature; but the condition of the roads over this state generally is such as I have described. The expence for turnpikes, and for pontages, in travelling in this country, is quite trifling.

The horses and cattle are of mixed breeds, and are always, in consequence of the abundance of food in this country, and the easy circumstances of the people, in good order. A starved-looking animal of any kind is never seen on the one hand, nor very fat pampered cattle, nor very fine coated, over-groomed horses, on

the other. Both horses and cattle are generally of middling size; the horses of that description that answer for all sorts of work, the saddle, the waggon, or the plough. The heaviest are selected for the stages. All carriages are driven at a trot. Horses are broken with great gentleness, and are, I think, better and more thoroughly broken than in England. An American driver of a stage, awkward-looking as he appears, manages his team, as he calls his horses, with the most perfect precision. The law of the road is to keep to the right side of the road, not to the left, as in Britain. Great exertions are, I observe from the newspapers here, making to improve the breeds of cattle and horses, by importations of the Teeswater cattle, and of stud-horses from England. The British admiral, Sir Isaac Coffin, has displayed great public spirit in sending over fine cattle, and superior horses, from Britain to New England, where he has considerable landed property, and of which he is, I believe, a native. In the neighbourhood of his property, he has been a zealous promoter of the establishment of free-schools, and of all benevolent works, so that he is an example to the people of all countries, and most deservedly popular in the United States. The price of beef varies from twopence to fivepence per pound, according to the prices and quality, from which the value of the animal may be computed. I have nowhere seen any beef equal to the best beef of an English market, or to the kyloe of the West Highlands of Scotland well fed; but beef of bad quality is never brought to market, and a

great deal of it is good. I have looked into the markets wherever we have been. Oxen are much used in ploughing, and are so well trained, that they are very useful in many operations of carting on farms. The price of ordinary horses is from L. 16 to L. 25.

I observe at the agricultural shows of last year, premiums awarded for milk cows yielding ten or eleven pounds of butter per week, one of them yielding thirteen, and twenty-three to twenty-four quarts of milk per day. One of the breeds of cows is called very appropriately the "fill-pail." A premium was also awarded for a cow that calved on 7th January,—calf sold in March,—another calf put to her, and sold in June,—and a third at her side; the price of the three calves forty dollars.

Sheep are not so much attended to as they should be in this country, where the dryness of the weather preserves them from diseases, to which they are subject in Britain. The Merinos, and crosses with the Merino, are those generally seen; but little care is paid to their being well-fed before being killed and brought to market. The mutton is of course inferior in quality, and the people led to entertain prejudices against it. Even the slaves in the south are said to object to being fed on sheep's meat. I have again and again seen good mutton, but far more rarely than good beef and pork. Hogs are universal in this country, and are well fed, frequently, first of all in the woods on chesnuts, hiccory nuts, sometimes on fallen peaches and apples, but almost always, before being killed, they get a sufficient

quantity of meal, either from Indian corn, or barley. Steamed food is also supplied in some cases. The steam-boiler for food for cattle is well known here. General La Fayette saw one so well constructed somewhere in this country, that he had one made for himself, and carried to France.

Poultry are excellent, well-fed everywhere, and in great numbers about the farm-yards. Turkeys and guinea-fowls abound more than in Britain, which is not to be wondered at, as their relatively cheap price places them within the reach of all. The price of geese and turkeys even at New York is frequently not much above half a dollar; ducks and fowls about one shilling. Eggs, a dollar for a hundred; cheese very good at fourpence or fivepence per pound.

Implements of husbandry are on the whole well suited to the country. The two-horse plough, driven by one man, is universally used, unless in bringing in rough stony land, when four oxen or horses are necessary. The cradle-scythe is in pretty universal use. A good workman can cut down an acre of wheat per day. The harvest work being altogether performed by males, and the crops ripening, and of course reaped, at seasons differing from each other much more than in England, the cheerful appearance of the harvest field all over Britain, filled with male and female reapers and gleaners, is nowhere seen in this country. The prices of implements are not higher than in England. The lower price of wood makes up for the higher price of labour, especially as carpenters are very expert.

Ploughing is well executed, and premiums given by agricultural societies at their yearly meetings. I observe, at a late meeting in Massachussetts, sixteen ploughs, drawn by oxen, started for the competition,—that the ploughs were of the improved kind, with cast-iron mould-boards, — the ploughing five inches deep,—and the furrows not more than ten inches in width. Premiums were at this meeting awarded for various agricultural implements. Threshing-machines are not yet so general as in Britain.

CHAPTER XIII.

From Ballston Spa to Albany—Driver at Table with Passengers—Extra Stage to Boston—Greenbush Barracks—Culture of Silk—New Lebanon—Shakers—Account of them—Origin—Professions—Rule of Life—Liberty of Conscience—Manner of Worship—Dancing—Order and Government of their Church—Management of their Temporal Concerns—Extent of their Settlement—Its Neatness—Clothes of the Shakers—Situation of New Lebanon—Water of the Springs Hot—Analysis—Hotels at New Lebanon—From thence to Boston by Northampton—Beauty of Northampton, and of the Villages of New England — Population of Northampton — Academy there — Mount Holyoke—Arrival at Mr Smith's, in Howard Street, Boston —Boston, Capital of New England—Peopling of New England—Cromwell prevented by Charles the First from emigrating to New England — Situation of Boston — Bridges — Harbour — Vicinity — View from State-House—Street of Boston—Market-place—The Common—Hospitals—Athenæum—Lines of Stages—The People busy and active—Population of Boston—Chantry's Statue of Washington—Cenotaph to the Memory of Franklin—Sunday calculated from Saturday Evening—Oratorios at Boston on Sunday—The Mayor's visiting the Theatre—Annual Thansgiving Day—Market preceding it—After Divine Service the day is devoted to convivial Happiness—Dr Beecher's Sermon—Organ in the Church—Singing—Dr Channing—Boarders in Mr Smith's House—Scotch Dishes—Oil Lamps more used than Candles—Cambridge and Yale Universities—Horses and Oxen—Value of Real Property at Boston—Excursion to Nahant—Lynn—Mrs Phinney's Boarding-House, near Boston—Dorchester Heights—Beginning of the War of the Revolu-

tion, and Battles in the Neighbourhood of Boston—Weather in December—Severe Frost—Mr Fairchild, Clergyman at South Boston —Form of Baptism.

At Boston, from 21*st November* 1828 *to March* 1829.

On the 21st of November we left Ballston Spa, and proceeded in the stage to Albany, thirty-seven miles. We dined at a half-way house, where the driver sat at table with the stage-passengers. At Albany we were annoyed to find that the stage did not run from thence to Boston at this late season of the year. We had excellent rooms and accommodation at Albany, at Mr Le Met's hotel, where we saw several families of respectability, who were then boarding at this hotel, the legislature being then in session. We remarked every thing in this house as being excellent of its kind.

The want of the regular stage obliged us to make a bargain for an extra coach to carry us to Boston, a distance of 164 miles. The sum agreed on, after some discussion, was sixty-one dollars, without any other payment whatever;—we being at liberty to take as long time, as many, or as few days, as we liked on the road. For this sum, we had a large stage-coach to ourselves, driven by four horses, with a change of horses and drivers, at every one of the usual stopping stage-houses. This sum is at the very reasonable rate of a trifling fraction above one shilling and four pence Sterling per mile.

After crossing the Hudson in a horse-ferry-boat, we passed at a little distance Greenbush, where barracks were formerly erected for the soldiery, attached to

which is a considerable tract of land, consisting of between 200 and 300 acres, peculiarly adapted to the culture of the mulberry, and which is now very properly about to be appropriated by the general congress to that purpose. It has been well ascertained that the soil and climate of the United States are suitable for the culture of silk; in particular, by means of pretty extensive trials successfully made in Virginia and Georgia, and as far north as Connecticut. The mulberry has been proved to thrive well, even at Burlington, in the State of Vermont, and in the 45th degree of north latitude. What should recommend the culture of silk, wherever practicable, is, that it is added to the ordinary and accustomed productions without essentially diminishing any of them, and that it gives employment to old men, women, and children, incapable of the severe labour of the field. The mulberry beautifies and embellishes the country, being a fine tree for shade. One acre of full-grown mulberry trees will, according to the present prices, produce, as it is estimated, 200 dollars worth of silk; but it would require ten acres of the best land to produce the same value of wheat in this part of the United States. Neither is there any comparison in the quantity and quality of the labour required. The most robust are necessarily employed for the production of wheat; but women and children are competent to the manufacture of silk. The general government are, therefore, acting most wisely in encouraging its production; more especially as the

annual value of the silks, even now imported into the United States, exceeds six millions of dollars.

It is not consistent with the enterprizing character of this people that they have hitherto so little attended to the silk trade. The mulberry thrives equally well in those states as in France and Italy, in which, ever since the introduction of silk worms from India in 1455, the culture of silk has been an important branch of industry. The growth of silk was in these countries promoted, not only in consequence of premiums offered for its cultivation, but of various laws which were passed with that view, until at length the Europeans became successful competitors in this manufacture with the Chinese and the people of the East Indies. It has now been completely ascertained by a report in Congress, founded on correct information, that the American silk is superior in quality to that produced in any other country. In France and Italy, twelve pounds of cocoons are required to produce one pound of raw silk; whilst eight pounds of American cocoons will produce one pound. The market for silk has always been a ready one. Even France, which produces much silk, pays annually more than twenty millions of dollars for imported silk. England pays a large sum; and the United States pay above seven millions of dollars.

On the day we left Albany our journey was limited to twenty-six miles, to Lebanon springs, in consequence of our spending some hours at the chief establishment of the religious sect called the Shakers, situated about

two miles from New Lebanon, which, not only on account of their peculiar religious creed, but of their mode of life, and economical arrangement in all respects, especially in point of order and neatness, is well entitled to notice. This religious sect have six regular societies in New England and New York States, and five in Ohio, Kentucky, and in Indiana. Their present number amounts in all to between 4000 and 5000. The number at Lebanon is between 600 and 700.

This society originated at Manchester, in England, about the year 1747. Mother Ann Lee, the leader of the society in the United States, joined them in 1748; and soon afterwards, professing herself to have received Revelations through the Spirit of Christ, she was received as their mother in Christ. She and her followers suffered so much persecution in England, that she, with most of them, in the year 1774, emigrated to America, where they were afterwards joined by some of the inhabitants of New England and New York. Mother Ann Lee died in 1784, exhibiting to the last unshaken confidence in the doctrines she had maintained. This society call themselves the United Society or Millenial Church. But they do not object to call themselves, or to be called, Shakers.

According to their professions, they do not believe in a trinity of persons in the Godhead, nor in Christ as the real and eternal God; but conceive that he proceeded and came forth from God, and not from all eternity, being brought forth at a certain period by the operation of Divine power and wisdom. They believe

that religion consists more in the practice of virtue than in faith, or in speculative opinions; that man is saved by the practice of faith; that there is one supreme, eternal, and self-existing God; that man was created innocent, and a free agent respecting his choice of good and evil; and that man having lost his first rectitude, the power of salvation was not possessed by any on earth until Christ appeared: That Christ took on him the fallen nature of man, and overcame the power of the death which reigned in man's fallen nature, and rose triumphant out of it; but that the church having gradually fallen into the spirit and principles of the world, the church of antichrist arose: that the real manifestation of the second appearance of the Divine Spirit of Christ commenced in the testimony of Ann Lee; and that through her was manifested the same Divine Spirit which dwelt in Christ: that this is the second appearing of Christ, because the power received by all who obey this testimony enables them to live as Christ lived. The confession of every known sin is a principle of their faith, according to the text, "He that covereth his sins shall not prosper, but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy."

The rule of life established by the church of this society is summed up in seven injunctions.

1*st*, Duty to God.—Thou shalt love the Lord with all thy heart,—the entire devotion of every faculty to God.

2*d*, Duty to Man.—Thou shalt love thy neighbour

as thyself. This rule includes every obligation of man to his fellow-creatures.

3*d*, Separation from the World.—My kingdom is not of this world. Hence they abstain from all the politics of the world, and from all posts of honour and vain pursuits.

4*th*, Practical Peace.—Christ being the Prince of Peace, they consider his followers bound to maintain his principles. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight.

5*th*, Simplicity of Language.—Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. All kinds of profane language, and vain talking, and falsehood. All titles of distinction are rejected. Be ye not called Rabbi.

6*th*, Right Use of Property.—Christ prayed that his followers might be one with him. This unity ought to extend to all things, spiritual and temporal. The primitive church was established on this principle.

7*th*, A Virgin Life.—They appeal to the example of our Saviour, "The married care for the things of the world, how they may please their husbands and wives; but the unmarried care for the things of the Lord, how they may be holy in body and spirit."—"The children of this world marry and are given in marriage; but they that shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage." They consider marriage merely as a civil institution, with which the true followers of Christ have nothing to do.

They also believe that the only true resurrection consists in the soul's being raised from a death of sin into the spirit and life of Christ; that this resurrection began in Christ, and will continue till all souls come forth under the resurrection of life or damnation; and further, that the second appearance of Christ is in fact the day of judgment, a gradual work, in which Christ is sending forth his angels and ministers to preach the Gospel. "This Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness to all nations, and then shall the end come."

Liberty of conscience they hold to be a sacred right given by the Creator, which no human authority can control; that all which man can require of man is, that he should do his fellow-creatures no injury. Therefore, they recommend to all to live according to the best light of their own consciences, as the only means of obtaining justification before God.

Their peculiar manner of worship is dancing. They were first led to it involuntarily. Afterwards it became established and confirmed by Revelations. They believe it supported by Scripture and reason. By Scripture, from the dancing of the Israelites at the Red Sea; the dancing of David and Israel before the ark; and the prophecy of Jeremiah, "then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance, both young men and old together;" as well as from the parable of Christ, when "there was music and dancing" on the return of the prodigal son; and other similar passages of Scripture in favour of dancing, without any against it. They hold it to be

supported by reason, because it is just that the active powers of the body, as well as the mind, should be called forth to perform acts of devotion to God; that God, having created all the active powers of man for his honour and glory, will not accept the homage of the tongue alone. The hands and feet, which are useful to man in his own service, ought also to be employed in the worship of God. The abuse of the faculty of dancing in the carnal recreation of the wicked is, they maintain, no reason why the followers of Christ should not improve it in the service of God, because the same argument would equally exclude singing, and indeed every other faculty of man; and upon this principle, we should be obliged to lay aside all acts of devotion to God, both in body and mind.

The established order and society of the church is founded upon a union of interests in things temporal and spiritual. Candidates for admission into the society generally present themselves to the society as fast as the society is able to provide for them; but no pecuniary advantage is ever held out to them, nor any gifts of charity bestowed with any such views. Husbands and wives are not required to separate from each other on embracing the faith of the society; but are required to preserve themselves in continence and purity. Children born before their parents were members of the society, and obedient to their parents until they become of age, are entitled to their equal portion of their paternal inheritance, although not remaining with the society. Children belonging to the society are all carefully instructed. Bibles are in the hands of all.

The government of the church is considered by the society to be under the influence of the spirit of Christ. But its visible head is vested in a ministry consisting of males and females, generally four in number, two of each sex. The first in the society is considered as the leading elder.

There are also in each society ministers appointed to preach their doctrines to the world as occasion requires, and whose duty it is to receive and instruct candidates. The society is established in different places, and generally composed of a number of families, in each of which there are male and female elders to superintend the spiritual concerns of the family. In these families the management of temporal concerns is entrusted to deacons and deaconesses. The appointment of all officers of care and trust is made, in the first place, by the ministry and elders, by whom they are also removed or changed as occasion requires; but no appointment is considered as fixed until it receives the united approbation of those whom it most immediately concerns. Nothing, however, is decided by vote, but by a general and spontaneous union of the members concerned. The property of the society being consecrated to sacred uses, and held in common, no individual can have any demand for wages. There are no official salaries in the society, nor can any ministers, elders, or deacons have any claim upon the property otherwise than as trustees for the joint benefit of all.

The general employment of the people in all their

societies are agriculture, horticulture, and the mechanic arts. The males and females live together in the same house, eat together in the same dining-room, take all needful care of each other, practice reciprocal kindness and correspondence, and maintain a social union in all things becoming their profession, and are understood to enjoy as great a degree of health, peace, and contentment, as any people whatever.

They have at this settlement about 3000 acres of land. Their buildings are very clean-looking both without and within, a little detached from the road, as well as from each other, and extend for about a mile. They are large, plain, and handsome,—almost all painted of a yellowish colour. Not a weed or nuisance of any kind is to be seen in their fields, gardens, or even in the adjoining road through their property. Their wood is put up with the greatest regularity with solid pillars of stone as gate-posts. Their orchards are large, and in excellent order, and their agricultural operations well managed. They manufacture and sell brushes, boxes, pails, baskets, ladies' reticules, and a great variety of domestic utensils. Their garden seeds and vegetable medicines are celebrated all over the Union,—their gardens being on a great scale. Their cyder is excellent. The females are also employed in domestic manufactures and house-work, and the community fed and clothed almost entirely by its own productions. Not being burdened with the care of children, they are more at liberty than other communities to follow their occupations without interruption.

We had no introduction to these people, but there was no hesitation on their part in showing us their houses, work-houses, and sale-rooms, all of which are patterns of order. We bought some trifling articles. Their clothes are much like those of quakers. They showed us their church, which is a clean, comfortable place of worship. We asked and obtained permission to return, to be present on Sunday, the day following that on which we were with them. A violent storm of snow and hail prevented their meeting; but we understand they begin with singing, and afterwards the men on one side of the church, and the females on the other, move forward in a body dancing, then turn, and continue the evolution for a considerable time. Those who do not join in the worship remain near the walls and sing.

The conduct of these people is blameless, and they rigidly adhere to their professions, although there are, as there must be in all human institutions, instances of backsliding. Although their mode of living requires far greater self-denial than is necessary, according to the system recommended by Mr Owen, yet the shakers, among whom the union of temporal interests and property is completely established, have prospered, and continue to prosper, after the lapse of half a century, while Mr Owen's grand experiment in Indiana has resulted in total failure and great pecuniary loss.

New Lebanon, which is considered the Buxton of America, is situated in a very beautiful district on the side of a sloping hill, from which the view of a fine

amphitheatre of hills, and of a well-cultivated valley below, is extremely pleasing. In point of scenery and fine mountain air, and charming rides, Lebanon possesses advantages which are not to be found at Saratoga and Ballston,—but the Congress water is wanting. The water here is chiefly used for warm-bathing, its constant unvarying temperature being about 73° of Fahrenheit; the water boils up from a hill so pellucid, that a pin may be seen at the bottom of the spring, and is so copious, that it feeds many mills,—for which, as it never freezes, it is admirably adapted. Animals are fond of it, and it is said to be very useful in cutaneous affections, and in restoring the appetite. Two quarts of water contain, of

Muriate of lime,	-	1 grain.
Muriate of soda,	-	1¾
Sulphate of lime,	-	1¼
Carbonate of lime,	-	¾
		5

The aëriform fluids in two quarts of water are thirteen cubic inches of azotic gas, and eight cubic inches of atmospheric air. The gas readily extinguishes a candle. There are no remains of volcanos here, nor other marks of subterranean heat, with the exception of those afforded by the water.

The hotels at these springs are upon a great scale, one of them affording accommodation for about 300 people. We lodged at one of the minor houses, which was recommended by the driver, and had every reason to be satisfied, as the landlord and landlady, both Ame-

ricans, were at great pains to make our rooms warm and comfortable in a very stormy night.

From New Lebanon, we passed through a very hilly country to Pittsfield, a clean-looking village, where the meetings of the Berkshire agricultural society, incorporated by the legislature of Vermont, are held, and reached Peru, a small village, where we spent the night in a very good country hotel. The hotels on this road seemed to us faultless. We were not shown into a parlour in any of the stage-houses where we stopped, in which there was not a very tolerable library in history, philosophy, religion, and novels. Paley, Rollin, Sir Walter Scott, Dr Robertson, and Cooper, are almost always on the shelves of a book-case, and there is a piano in the room much oftener than in Britain.

The next place of note where we stopped was Northampton, in the western part of the state of Massachusetts, and between fifty and sixty miles from Albany, and which, whether taking it alone, or in conjunction with the neighbouring country, is decidedly the most beautiful village that I have seen in this country. The only place at all to be compared to it is Canandaigua. The villages of New England are proverbial for their neatness and cleanness. Cooper, the well-known American writer, says truly, "New England may justly glory in her villages,—in space, freshness, and air of neatness and of comfort, they far exceed any thing I have ever seen even in the mother country. I have passed in one day six or seven of these beautiful ham-

lets, for not one of which have I been able to recollect an equal in the course of all my European travelling."

It is, in fact, hardly possible to figure a handsomer country town than Northampton, or a more charming country than that in its neighbourhood; but the town is not more remarkable for neatness and cleanness, and for handsome and suitable buildings, and houses and gardens, than for beauty of situation, and the delightful scenery in its vicinity. No mere traveller who comes to this country will do justice to it, if he does not visit Northampton. If a traveller in Britain were to stumble on such a place as this, he would not fail to inquire whose great estate was in the neighbourhood, and attribute the decorations of shrubs, flowers, &c. which adorn even the smallest habitations here, to the taste of a wealthy neighbour, or to his being obliged to make them to promote electioneering views. Here every thing is done by the people spontaneously, and if any authority is exerted, it is by officers appointed by themselves.

The population of Northampton amounts to between 3000 or 4000. There is only one great broad street, with a few fine trees, in which are situated the churches and court-house,—buildings decidedly ornamental, and of considerable size. But the beauty of the place, apart from the situation, arises from the great width of the street, and the light clean appearance of the white plain houses with their verandas, porticos, and green Venetian blinds, enclosed with handsome white railings in large pieces of dressed garden-ground, ornamented

with large old trees. Northampton consists, in truth, of a number of villas of various sizes, but very pleasing, though irregular, architecture, seeming to vie with each other in the taste and elegance of their external decorations. There is primitive white limestone in the neighbourhood, and much of the pavement and steps are of white marble. The trees in the neighbourhood of the town are single spreading trees, principally elms, and of considerable age,—the roads are wide, and the footpaths are excellent everywhere. We were shown the old elms that shaded the house of the celebrated President Edwards. At the hotel where we lodged, kept by Mr Warner, the dinner set down to us alone was as good and as well-dressed as at any London hotel. A very handsome female waiter attended us, and took her seat by us, very much as our equal.

Northampton is surrounded by rising grounds, on one of which is placed a flourishing academy, from which there is one of the best views of the town; but Mount Holyoke, situated on the opposite side of the Connecticut river, and about 800 feet high, is the hill which all strangers ascend, for the sake of the very extensive and glorious prospect from its summit. There is not much difficulty in getting to the top, and the labour is fully repaid by the splendour of the view of the river Connecticut and its windings, and of a very rich and fertile valley. This valley contains the most extensive and beautiful plain in New England, well-cultivated, and populous. About thirty churches, all with spires, are seen from the top of Mount Holyoke, from which,

too, in a clear day, the hills of Newhaven, on Long Island Sound, are distinctly visible.

The whole of the villages from Northampton to Boston, Belchertown, Ware, and Worcester, are handsomely laid out, and comfortable places, and every thing about them so neat and so much in order, that it is delightful to see them. If we had not been at Northampton in the first place, we should have been more loud in their praise,—but about Northampton there is so much more appearance of real comfort, and of beautiful village scenery, than I have seen anywhere else, that it is absolutely necessary to moderate the language employed in eulogizing the other villages of New England through which we passed.

On this journey from Albany to Boston, we never happened to reach any of the hotels at their regular hour of dinner; nor had we any of our meals at the same time with the boarders in the house. No difficulty was anywhere made on this account,—we were shown into private parlours everywhere, and had every thing we required as comfortably as if we had been travelling in England; and at the same expence as if we had arrived at the hours of the general meals. There were obvious distinctions between the customs of the two countries; especially in the quantity of animal food placed before us at breakfast, and at tea, and in the demeanour of the female waiters, who never fail to seat themselves when their services are not required; but we wanted nothing that was essential, and had nothing to pay to drivers, waiters, or chambermaids.

The hotel at Worcester seemed to us one of the best on the road,—as good as any we have seen in the United States. The hotel-keeper there, when I told him that we wished to go to a private boarding-house at Boston, rather than to an hotel, recommended to us the house of Mr Smith, in Howard Street. On alighting there, we were surprised to find the landlord a Scotchman, from Glammis, in Forfarshire, a hospitable and kind person, who keeps a most excellent family hotel, and did not give us the less hearty reception, when he found that we were wanderers from the Land of Cakes.

Boston, which was the chief city of America when those disputes with the colonies, which first broke out into open warfare there, arose, is the capital of New England,—the north-eastern section of the United States; consisting of the State of Massachusetts, in which it is situated, and of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. New England was originally peopled by Europeans in 1620. They were English dissenters, who left their country, not for the sake of gain, like other adventurers, but to secure the free exercise of their religion; and who, on account of the hardships they endured at the period of their settlement, were afterwards called the Pilgrims; but Boston was not founded for eight or nine years after the landing of the Pilgrims in 1620.

It was to Boston, not many years afterwards, that Oliver Cromwell, with some of his afterwards celebrated adherents, formed a plan to remove, in order to enjoy civil and religious liberty; but Charles the First,

alarmed by the number of emigrants, issued a proclamation for detaining the very men destined to overthrow his throne, and to bring him to the scaffold.

The situation of Boston is very remarkable, placed on a small peninsula in the inmost part of the great Bay of Massachusetts, about eight or ten miles from the ocean.—In this bay there are about 100 islands, many of them of a very picturesque appearance; some of them strongly fortified. The peninsula, on which the city is built, is between two and three miles long, and a mile broad, joined to the continent by a narrow isthmus, or neck of land, which has been formerly overflowed by the tide. The name of the city was given to it by Mr Cotton, its first minister, who came from Boston in England.

Two of its suburbs, South Boston and Charlestown, are also placed on peninsulas; and there are no less than six great wooden bridges of considerable length, one of them nearly two miles long, to connect the city with the suburbs and adjoining continent.

The harbour is large and deep; but it is not altogether free from ice in winter.

The neighbouring country is undulating and sprinkled with many of the beautiful white villas of New England, neatly enclosed, and adorned with a few fine trees and well kept gardens.

The view from the top of the State-House, 230 feet above the level of the sea, and which overlooks the whole of the city,—the bay, the islands, the neighbour-

ing heights, and the adjoining country, is one of the noblest that can be imagined.

The surface of the peninsula on which the city is built is irregular in shape and height.

There are three eminences in it, from which the city was originally called Trimountain; the chief one is 110 feet above the level of the sea.

This variety of surface, combined with the elevation and size of the State-House, of many of the public buildings, and the spires of the churches, contributes much to give the city a striking appearance in approaching it.

The streets of Boston are generally narrow; but many of the private houses in the best streets, and many of the churches, are handsome and massive, built of a light grey granite; and, upon the whole, there is no feeling of disappointmeut on a near inspection of the whole town. The market-place, which has been lately erected, is a very well-managed building, by far the best of that description in the United States. Indeed, I am not sure whether, in reference to the respective populations of the cities, it be at all inferior to the market place at Liverpool.

Boston is distinguished from all the other American cities by its pleasure grounds, called the Common, consisting of seventy-five acres in the heart of the city. It is well laid out, and contains many fine trees; and, being reserved for public purposes, tends greatly to the comfort and health of the inhabitants. The State-House, and the handsome houses in the city, surround it on three sides.

There is more wealth, in proportion to the population, in Boston than in any of the other cities of this continent.

The city abounds in hospitals and other buildings for charitable purposes. The Athenæum, containing a valuable library, reading-rooms, lecturing and exhibition-rooms, is an admirable and well-conducted institution.

There are at Boston about 100 distinct lines of stages; a greater number than in any other part of the United States,—owing to the natural facilities for steam travelling being fewer here than elsewhere. The stage-register, which is quite a volume, is published every two months.

The city is clean and well paved, and seems to be not only entirely free of beggars, but of any population that is not apparently living comfortably. I did not observe a single individual in the streets of the city who was not well apparelled, nor an individual of what we call the lower orders. Even at New York, during the few days I was there, I observed some small districts of the city where cleanliness was less attended to than in others, and where there were indications, especially among the coloured people, that dissolute habits prevailed in some degree; but at Boston there is not the semblance of idleness or filth among the people any where. All are, or seem to be, in the full enjoyment of the necessaries of life, and all busy, active, and employed. What a contrast in these respects between this city and the city of Dublin, which, in the month of

July 1827, I saw crowded with beggars almost naked, even in the heart of it; and on the arrival of a mail-coach in Sackville Street, scrambling for the few halfpence which the passengers threw among them.

The population of Boston is now reckoned at nearly 70,000. Until the period of the revolution it contained as many inhabitants as any other of the American cities; but now not only New York and Philadelphia are nearly three times as large as Boston, but Baltimore, altogether created since the revolution, surpasses Boston in population. This is to be chiefly attributed, as I understand, to the superiority of internal communication enjoyed by those cities over Boston. Still the population of Boston, when joined to that of its suburbs and the neighbouring villages, is very great. The population of the State of Massachusetts is rapidly increasing; and the quantity of shipping at Boston is greater than that of any of the American sea-ports except New York.

A statue of Washington by Chantry has recently been erected in the State-House. Washington is represented as standing on a pedestal.

A cenotaph has been erected here to the memory of Dr Franklin, who was a native of Boston, though he chiefly resided at Philadelphia. It is placed on the tomb in which are the remains of his parents.

There are two theatres at Boston, not differing much in the interior from the smaller British theatres, very well filled while we were there, owing to some British and French performers of eminence, especially as

dancers, who were loudly applauded by the puritans of New England, although the French *danseuses* semed to me *saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probæ.* The more *outré* the dancing, the more applause. Smoking and cigars are prohibited in the theatres, but the smell of tobacco sometimes prevails in a disagreeable degree. The theatres are not open on Saturday evenings at Boston, many of the New Englanders conceiving the Sabbath to commence on Saturday evening, and to finish on Sunday evening, according to the text in the first chapter of Genesis, " The evening and the morning were the first day." There are, however, public oratorios at Boston on Sunday evenings. The Antiquary, from Sir Walter Scott's novel of the same name, was a favourite piece at one of the theatres. Great fault was found, while we were at Boston, with an intimation in some of the newspapers, that, on a certain evening, the " mayor would honour the Tremont Theatre with his presence," and apologies and explanations were given by the editors to the sovereign people for the announcement, on the ground, that they did not read all the advertisements, and were not aware that they had made any such communications until their attention was called to the matter.

The annual thanksgiving day in the State of Massachusetts was held while we remained at Boston. We were advised to see the market on the evening previously. It was handsomely lighted, and was filled with provisions of all kinds; but the quantity of turkeys

in relation to other kinds of food, seemed to us most extraordinary, until we were told, that on thanksgiving days persons of every condition have a roasted turkey at dinner. The market was crowded to excess; and the turkeys were sold quickly at from three to five or six shillings Sterling. Finer fatter large birds are not to be seen any where. Pickled cucumbers of a large size seemed to be sold for a trifle at every stall in the market. After divine service is performed on thanksgiving days, and the people have, with devotion, expressed their gratitude for the privileges and enjoyments they possess, they see their friends, and the remainder of the day is given up to visiting and convivial happiness. Even at our boarding-house there was a difference in the style. We had both a fat goose and a fat turkey, and a greater display of good things than usual. Our good-humoured landlord presented us with wine. The editor of the Picture of Boston notices the thanksgiving day thus:—"Agreeably to a good old custom of our forefathers, a day is set apart, by proclamation of the governor, as a day of public thanksgiving. It commonly occurs at the close of November, and is observed as a religious festival, services being held in the different churches; and the day being ended by an interchange of good feelings between families and relatives over tables which are loaded with the richest bounties of our country." We heard Dr Beecher, the head of the orthodox clergy here, preach on this occasion. His church is congregational and evangelical. He came into the pulpit with his great-coat on; and his

manner and appearance altogether, putting clerical garb out of the question, reminded me not a little of the late Sir Henry Moncreiff of Edinburgh. He was equally firm and decided in the delivery of his sentiments; and, while he expressed in strong language his veneration for republican institutions and forms of government, and his gratitude for the political blessings which the American people enjoy, he commented with freedom on the want of real religion which openly characterized many of the leading men in the general government, as well as in the government of the State of Massachusetts. His sermon was a good argumentative discourse, and might have been supposed to be delivered by a sound Protestant minister in any part of Great Britain, if it had not been for the allusions to the form of the government, and his eulogies upon it.

There is an organ in this church, and a band of singers. The singing in the churches of this country is more generally that of a paid band of singers than of the congregation. This is the case even in the village churches, such as those of Ballston and Saratoga, &c. and there is always an organ, or some wind instrument. On another occasion we attended divine worship at a fine church adjoining the common, where Dr Beecher's son officiates. There are about forty churches in Boston, some of them very handsome. The congregations in about one-third of those churches are Unitarian. Dr Channing is at the head of the Unitarian clergy. As a preacher he is not, I think, distinguished. He is neither persuasive nor impressive, which I conceive a

speaker in the pulpit ought above all things to be; but his manner is quaint, and more like that of a person of literary acquirements, and a gentleman who has seen the world, than that of any of the clergy whom I have yet heard in this country. The people are universally attentive to strangers in offering or procuring them seats in the churches. Watts's Psalms and Hymns are generally used in the Congregational churches of this country.

In Mr Smith's boarding-house the permanent boarders were a physician, a lawyer, a bookseller, and several mercantile gentlemen, all professional men in Boston. The transient boarders, as they are called, were the captain of one of the packet-ships between Boston and Liverpool, and his wife, and several ladies besides ourselves. The charge for the permanent boarders is 260 dollars per year, and for the others a dollar a day. Every thing was good and abundant at Mr Smith's table. Breakfast at eight, dinner at three, and tea and supper at six.

I do not think the dinner ever consumed above twenty minutes, before the party, at least the permanent boarders, separated, and were out of the house, in order to attend to business again. There was brandy on the table, and beer, or rather ale, but water was far more generally used by the Americans. Mr Smith had an Edinburgh cook, formerly in Lady Sinclair of Murkle's house; and sometimes there were Scotch dishes, even a haggis, sheep's-head, minced-collops, &c. but the Americans had no great relish for them. They care

more for roast-beef, beef-steak, roasted turkey, and apple and pumpkin pie, than for any thing else. There was one male servant, an American, at this boarding-house, who seemed to attend to his duty well, and constantly, but his manners are as different as possible from that of a British servant. No obsequiousness; nor would he, I suspect, have touched his hat, on passing one of the inmates of the boarding-house, for the world. There is, however, no want of civility, but it is expected to be shown to servants as well as by them. Even the blacks and free colour people address each other by the ordinary appellations of Sir and Madam; and the people generally, when speaking of any one in his absence, call him citizen, &c.

Mr Smith himself was as kind and hospitable a landlord as could be conceived, and the house altogether is well managed. He is a bachelor, but a female housekeeper presided at breakfast and tea.

Lamps of oil seemed to us more used here than candles.

The two great universities of the United States are situated in New England, viz. Cambridge, in the neighbourhood of Boston, and Yale, at Newhaven in Connecticut. Cambridge is between two and three miles from Boston. The buildings of Cambridge College are plain, but in good order; and the university is in possession of a sufficient space of fine level grounds in a very healthy situation. The theological school of this university is understood to be Unitarian. Cambridge was founded about a century ago by a clergyman of the

name of Howard. The number of students is, I understand, about 400.

The horses used at Boston for draught are not so light as at New York. Oxen, too, admirably broken, are much used in the streets, and sometimes oxen have horses yoked in front of them. Both horses and oxen are broken to stand much more quiet and immoveable on the street, without any one holding them, than in Britain. The difficulty of getting servants, owing to the high price of labour, is probably the cause of this.

The peninsula, on which Boston is situated, being almost altogether covered with houses, excepting the common reserved for the recreation of the inhabitants, the value of real property, and sites for houses, is of course great. I was told that the house, and bit of garden ground in the centre, and best situation of the city, consisting of an acre or an acre and a-half of ground, and belonging to Mr Green, a banker, married to a sister of Lord Lyndhurst, were worth 200,000 dollars.

In the beginning of December, I made an excursion on a fine frosty morning to Nahant, the sea-bathing village for the inhabitants of Boston, and lying about fourteen miles to the north-eastward. It is situated on a long narrow peninsula, not more than half a mile broad, thrown forward into the bay; the ground irregular in shape and height, and with bold and striking rocks on the shore. There is a fine sandy beach, and admirable accommodation in hotels, boarding-houses, baths, &c. The village of Lynn is on the way

from Nahant to Boston, about a mile and a-half from Nahant, with which it is connected by a remarkable bar of sand. Lynn is noted for the manufacture of ladies' shoes, about a million and a-half pairs, valued at one million of dollars, being annually made by a population of about 5000 inhabitants. The women of Lynn earn about 60,000 dollars by binding shoes.

In the course of our walks in the neighbourhood of Boston, we found out, beyond the high grounds of Dorchester to the south of Boston, and about three miles from it, a clean-looking small boarding-house on the edge of the bay, the windows of which, towards the sea, commanded a charming view of the bay and islands. At this season of the year it was occupied only by the proprietress, a widow, but we found she had no objection to receive us, not as boarders, but to have a separate table, at three and a-half dollars per week for each; and to her house we removed in December, while the weather continued fine. Her establishment consisted of herself, her two daughters, sixteen and eighteen years old, and a boy of thirteen, to take care of a cow, clean shoes, go errands, &c. She had a bar, *i. e.* a place for selling liquors, which hardly any one frequented but boatmen or people going to or coming from a small fortified island, about half a mile from the shore, called Fort Independence. We had a regular stage from this house to Boston, on account of the intercourse with the adjoining island. The walks in this neighbourhood were very delightful, especially on the well-known adjoining heights of Dorchester, from

which are many of the finest prospects in the vicinity of Boston.

It was by getting possession of these heights that Geral Washington gained his first success over the British army at the commencement of the American war, and forced them to retire from New England, which did not again become the theatre of war. The inhabitants of Boston most zealously opposed from the beginning the right claimed by the British Parliament to tax the colonies, and even before the first decided step was taken by the British act, imposing stamp-duties on the colonies, denied the right of Parliament to impose duties on those who were not represented in Parliament. The opposition of the colonies induced Parliament to repeal this act in the year 1766, the year following that in which the bill passed, but the repealing act contained a very unwise declaration, that the British Parliament possessed the right to bind the colonies, and, accordingly, in the next year, 1767, Parliament imposed duties on teas and other articles.

Meetings of the people, consequently, were held at Boston. Resolutions were passed against the importation of British goods. British troops were stationed in Boston, and the worst understanding subsisted between the British government and the Boston people. At length in 1770, all the duties were taken off by parliament, except that on tea. Three ships laden with tea arrived at Boston, and several persons, disguised as Indians, who acted with great coolness, boarded the ships and threw their cargoes into the wa-

ter, without making any further disturbance. It was never ascertained who these persons were. The secret has been as well kept as that relating to the persons who, in the face of a royal pardon, deliberately executed the convict, Porteous, at the usual place of execution in Edinburgh, in the year 1736.

The following curious narrative respecting the destruction of the tea has *recently* been given by an old man, whose name is John Wyeth, now residing in the western part of the United States, near Cincinnatti.

"I laboured as a journeyman blacksmith with Western and Epidley, blacksmiths by trade. Our numbers were between twenty-eight and thirty. Of my associates, I only remember the names of Frothingham, Mead, Martin, and Grant. We were met together one evening, talking over the tyranny of the British government,—such as the heavy duties, shutting up the port of Boston, sending people to England for trial, and sundry other acts of oppression. Our indignation was increased by having heard of the arrival of the tea-ships at this time. We agreed, that, if the tea was landed, the people could not stand the temptation, and would certainly buy it. We came to a sudden determination, to make sure work of it, by throwing it all overboard. We first talked of firing the ships, but we feared the fire would communicate to the town. We then proposed sinking them; but we dropped this project, through fear that we should alarm the town before we could get through with it. We had observed that very few persons remained on board

the three ships; and we finally concluded that we could take possession of them, and discharge the tea into the harbour, without danger or opposition. The greatest objection to our plan was, that it would take such a great length of time to carry it through, and render us more liable to detection. We agreed, one and all, that we would go on, at the risk of our lives. We agreed, in order, as much as we might, to prevent ourselves from being discovered, to wear ragged clothes, and disfigure ourselves as much as possible. We concluded to meet at an old building at the head of the wharf, and to fall in one after another, as if by accident, so as not to excite suspicion. After having pledged our honour that we would not reveal our secret, we separated.

"At the appointed time, we all met according to agreement. We were dressed to resemble Indians as much as possible. We had smeared our faces with grease and soot, or lamp-black. We should not have known each other except by our voices: and we surely resembled devils from the bottomless pit rather than men. We placed one sentry at the head of the wharf, one in the middle, and one on the bow of each ship as we took possession. We then proceeded rapidly to business. We boarded the ship which was moored by the wharf; and the leader of our company, in a very stern and resolute manner, ordered the captain and crew to open the hatchways, and hand us the hoisting-tackle and ropes. The captain asked us what we intended to do? The leader told him that we were

going to unload the ships of the tea, and ordered him and the crew below, assuring him that, if they obeyed, no harm was intended them. They instantly obeyed without murmurs or threats. Some of our number jumped into the hold, and passed the chests to the tackle. As they were hoisted on deck, others knocked them open with axes, and others raised them to the railing, and discharged their contents overboard. All that were not needed for discharging the tea from this ship, went on board the others, and warped them into the wharf, where the same ceremonies were repeated as at the first ship. While we were unloading, the people collected in great numbers about the wharf to see what was going on. They crowded about us, so as to be much in our way. We paid no attention to them, nor did they say any thing to us. They evidently wished us success, for none of them gave any information against us. Our sentries were not armed, and could not stop any who insisted on passing. If we had been able, it would not have been good policy; for, in that case, they might have complained of us to the civil authorities. I believe our object in stationing the sentries was to communicate information, in case we were likely to be detected by the civil or military power. They were particularly charged to give us notice, in case any known Tory came down to the wharf. But our main dependence was on the general good-will of the people.

"We stirred briskly in the business from the moment we left our dressing-room. We were merry in

an under tone, at the idea of making so large a cup of tea for the fishes; but were as still as the nature of the case would admit. No more words were used than what were absolutely necessary. Our most intimate acquaintances among the spectators had not the least knowledge of us. I never laboured harder in my life; and we were so expeditious, that, although it was late in the evening when we began, we had discharged the whole three cargoes before morning dawn.

"It may be supposed that there was much talk about this business next morning. Proclamations and rewards to procure detection were all to no purpose. We pretended to be as zealous to find out the perpetrators as the rest. We often talked with the Tories about it. We were all so close and loyal, that the whole affair remained in Egyptian darkness. We used sometimes afterwards to meet and talk the affair over, never failing to end by drinking,—'the hearty boys of America for ever!'"

In consequence of this proceeding, Parliament shut up the port of Boston by an armed force, and removed the assembly of the State and the custom-house to Salem, about a dozen miles from Boston. The other states regarded the proceedings taken against Boston as taken against themselves, and at length, on the 4th September 1774, the first congress of the United States was held at Philadelphia, which declared their unalterable resolution to oppose every attempt to carry the British tax act into execution. General Gage, the British governor, in 1775, prevented the assembly of the

states from meeting together; but they voted themselves a provincial congress, and adjourned to a neighbouring village, where they immediately resolved to raise a military force, and to purchase military stores. General Gage having learned where some stores had been deposited, about twenty miles from Boston, dispatched Major Pitcairn and 800 men to seize or destroy them. The British troops, when they arrived at Lexington, about ten miles on their way, fired on some American militia on parade, and killed eight of them. They went on and destroyed the stores, but on their way back, the colonists pressed on them, and a continued skirmish took place till they got back to Boston. The British lost 273, and the Americans 88. This was the first engagement in the American struggle, and has been commemorated by a granite monument, erected at Lexington in the year 1799, containing the following inscription:—"Sacred to the liberty and rights of mankind; the freedom and independence of America, sealed and defended by the blood of her sons.

"This monument is erected by the inhabitants of Lexington, under the patronage and at the expence of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, to the memory of their fellow citizens, Ensign Robert Munroe, Messrs Jonas Parker, Samuel Hadley, Jonathan Harrington Junior, Isaac Muzzey, Caleb Harrington, and John Brown of Lexington, and Asahel Porter of Woburn, who fell on this field, the first victims to the sword of British tyranny and oppression, on the morning of the ever-memorable 19th of April 1775.

"The die was cast. The blood of these martyrs, in the cause of God and their country, was the cement of these states, their colonies, and gave the spring to the spirit, firmness, and resolution of their fellow citizens. They rose, as one man, to revenge their brethren's blood, and, at the point of the sword, to assert and defend their native rights. They nobly dared to be free. The contest was long, bloody, and affecting. Righteous Heaven approved the solemn appeal. Victory crowned their arms, and the peace, liberty, and independence of the United States of America were their glorious reward."

General Gage, immediately after the Lexington affair, fortified Boston, and both parties prepared for war. The Americans, in considerable numbers, entrenched themselves on the high ground in the neighbourhood of the city, from which the British dislodged them in June 1775, after the severe engagement of Bunker's Hill, in which they sustained very great loss, not less than that of one-third of their army. General Warren, a physician in Boston, and a most energetic and patriotic citizen, was killed in this action, to commemorate which, an obelisk, to be 220 feet above the ground, is at present in the course of being erected on the hill where it took place. The foundation of this obelisk was laid on the fiftieth anniversary after the battle. The hill was covered with the population of Boston, before whom a most eloquent address was delivered by Mr Webster, the distinguished orator of New England. The proceedings of the day were closed by an

entertainment on the hill, for which 4000 covers were laid.

General Washington joined the American army, of which he had just then been appointed commander-in-chief, soon after this battle, and by gaining possession of Dorchester heights, which commanded the city of Boston, in the month of March 1776, forced the British troops to evacuate it, and to betake themselves to their fleet.

The weather continued free from snow and from very severe frost during the whole of the month of December, and we enjoyed the beauty of our situation very much. The sun-risings in the bay were very fine. It was very remarkable that, during the whole of this month, there was neither a rainy nor a snowy day,—but on the 2d January 1829, the wind got to the north, and the sharpest frost we ever experienced succeeded. The thermometer fell several degrees below zero, and continued for three days pretty stationary. In one of the neighbouring islands the degree of cold was 16° below zero. The bay was full of ice, and part of the crews of several vessels came in frost-bitten. It was difficult to preserve the human body in sufficient warmth, even wrapped in two suits of clothes, and every one kept on stockings and flannel garments during the night. Oil froze. The ink froze in my pen in lifting it to the paper from an ink-horn, placed within the fender in front of a good fire. I had scruples as to relating this effect of cold, afraid that I might be accused of telling a traveller's story; but my

scruples were removed, when I afterwards accidentally stumbled on an authority, proving beyond controversy that the same effect of cold had been observed in England above a century ago. It is mentioned in a letter from Mr W. Congreve to Mr Porter, the husband of Mrs Porter, the actress. Mr Congreve writes him on the 1st January 1700. "I am by a great fire, yet my ink freezes so fast, I cannot write. The hautboys who played to us last night had their breath frozen in their instruments, till it dropped off the ends of them in icicles. This is true."

Snow succeeded the severe frost, and we had occasionally very cold weather, though not colder than during the first days of January, till the middle of March, a far longer tract of intensely cold weather than I had before witnessed.

Mr Fairchild is clergyman of the congregational church in South Boston, an excellent plain preacher, and a very worthy man. We frequently heard him preach. Having observed us again and again in his church, he was so kind as to wait on us as strangers, though living at a distance of two miles from his church; and we thus became acquainted with him. The form of infant baptism is totally different in the congregational churches here from what prevails in Britain. We saw Mr Fairchild perform the ceremony again and again,—on one occasion he baptized his own child. There are no sponsors. The clergyman descends from the pulpit and receives the child into his arms from the mother or other relation, and sprinkles the child's face

with water, and mentions its name, none of the parents or relations being called on to take any vows on them for the child. There certainly is not any express warrant in the Scriptures for sponsors at baptism, or for parents being called on to come under promises how they are to bring up their children, far less for the refusal which clergymen in Scotland often think themselves entitled to give to persons applying for the baptism of their children, on the ground of their having been guilty of immorality, in which, surely, the subject of baptism could not have participated. But this is rather a ticklish subject to touch on, for it may, I know, be said that clergymen are as well entitled to alter the original form of this ceremony, as to perform it on infants at all,—there being unquestionably, at least so far as I can find, after reading every word written on the subject in the New Testament, no authority whatever to show that sprinkling in the face is baptism, or that children are the subject of baptism. In fact, in the first ages of the church, and for 200 years after the birth of Christ, baptism of adults by immersion universally prevailed, and even after that period the baptism of infants was not much in use for above eleven centuries.

CHAPTER XIV.

Accident by Falling on the Ice—Mr Sheaffe's offer of Books—The London Examiner—Education in this Country—Extraordinary extent to which it is carried—Free Schools—Salaries to Teachers—Advantage of Public Schools—Education in Connecticut—In the whole of New England—Education in New York State—All over the States—Appropriations of Lands for Schools in New States and Territories—Provisions for Schools in Great Britain and Ireland—Order and Regularity of the People of the United States, especially on occasion of Elections—Expence of establishing a System of General Education in the United Kingdom—Mr Field's Teaching—Evening Parties at Mrs Phinney's—Election of Chaplain to the House of Assembly—A Baptist Minister—Charges for Dinners at Mrs Phinney's—Election of Mayor of Boston—Visit to the Village of Quincey—Mrs Carpenter, washerwoman, invited us to Tea—Inauguration day of General Jackson, as President of the United States—Trial for Libel at Mr Webster's Instance—Circumstances which led to it—Mr Jefferson's Letter—Communication from Mr Adams—Correspondence between Mr Otis and Mr Adams—Article inserted in Jackson Republican, by General Lyman—Courtesy of the Judges to the Bar—Defence—Chief Justice Parker's Charge—Result of Trial—Singular Indictment for Libel—Verdict—Objections to Evidence—Settled by Acts of the Legislature in some States—Act in Connecticut.

Winter, 1828–29.

I WAS so unlucky in the beginning of the severe frost, as to fall on the ice on the outer steps of the house door, and

to receive an injury which confined me to the house for some time. Dr Mann, the surgeon to the garrison of Fort Independence, being in the neighbourhood, immediately bled me, and paid me two visits, for which he made the very moderate charge of one dollar and a-half; but I afterwards, for some time, had the benefit of the advice of Dr Reynolds of Boston,—an extremely well-informed and eminent medical man, to whose skill and attention I was much indebted. When I was again able to get out of doors, my state of weakness made me content myself for some days with taking a few turns on a piece of turf near the house. On one of the first days I walked out, I was joined by a seafaring person of the name of Sheaffe, with whom I had got acquainted in the course of my walks by the sea side, who lived in the neighbourhood, and had a small boat, and seemed to gain his livelihood by fishing, and ferrying over passengers to and from the island. After congratulating me on my recovery, he asked me if I was not in want of books. He had seen me occasionally bring books from Boston, before I had met with the accident before noticed. He mentioned various historical and philosophical books in his library, which were at my service; and also the London Examiner newspaper for several years. I caught at his offer, when he mentioned the Examiner, having been recently reading the American account of the battles on the Canada frontier in the wars of 1813 and 1814, and being anxious to compare them with the British Gazette accounts. I therefore accepted the Examiner, which he fortunately had at

the period I wanted. I doubt whether such an occurrence as this could have happened anywhere else in the world. I found that Mr Sheaffe, whose house is as humble-looking a wooden cottage as any one in the neighbourhood, had formerly been a seaman in a merchant ship, and had been in England; but the explanation is easy. Education is open to all in this country; and all, or almost all, are educated. It was lately ascertained by reports accurately taken, that, out of a population of about 60,000 persons in the State of Massachusetts, only 400 beyond the age of childhood could not read or write. And more especially, by returns from 131 towns presented to the legislature, that the number of scholars receiving instruction in those towns is 12,393; that the number of persons in those towns, between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one, who are unable to read and write, is fifty-eight; and that in one of those towns, the town of Hancock, there are only three persons unable to read or write,—and those three are mutes. The general plan of education at the public free schools here is not confined to mere reading, writing, arithmetic and book-keeping, and the ancient and modern languages; but comprehends grammar, mathematics, navigation, geography, history, logic, political economy and rhetoric, moral and natural philosophy; these schools being, as stated in the printed regulations, intended to occupy the young people from the age of four to seventeen, and to form a system of education advancing from the lowest to the highest degree of improvement, which can be derived from any literary se-

minaries inferior to colleges and universities; and to afford a practical and theoretical acquaintance with the various branches of a useful education.

There are at present at Boston sixty-eight free schools, besides twenty-three Sabbath schools; in all of which the poorest inhabitant of Boston may have his children educated, according to the system of education before specified, from the age of four to seventeen, without any expence whatever. The children of both sexes are freely admitted. The funds for these schools are derived from bequests and donations by individuals, and grants from the legislature and corporations; and enable the trustees, consisting of twelve citizens, annually elected by the inhabitants of each of the twelve wards of the city, with the mayor and eight aldermen, to give the teachers salaries varying from 2500 to 800 dollars a-year. The assistant-teachers have 600 dollars. The trustees elect the teachers, and vote their salaries yearly; and no preference is given on any principles but those of merit and skill. The teachers of the grammar schools must have been educated at college, and must have attained the degree of bachelor of arts. The morning and evening exercises of all the schools commence with reading the Scriptures. A very strict system of supervision and regulation is established by the trustees.

No expence whatever is incurred at those schools for the children except for books.

The richer classes at Boston formerly very generally patronized teachers of private schools, who were paid

in the usual way, but they now find that the best teachers are at the head of the public schools, and, in most cases, prefer them;—the children of the highest and lowest rank enjoying the privilege, altogether invaluable in a free state, of being educated together.

In the adjoining State of Connecticut it has been ascertained by accurate reports, that one-third of the population, of about 275,000, attend the free schools. In the whole of the New England States, the population of which, including Massachusetts and Connecticut, amounts to about two millions, it is unquestionable, that the entire population are educated, that is to say, can read and write, and that the exceptions, which do not at the utmost amount to 2000 persons, are composed of blacks and foreigners.

The result of the recent inquiry into the state of education in the State of New York, which adjoins New England, and is almost equal to it in population, and to which I have already alluded, is very much, though not entirely, the same. It is proved by actual reports, that 499,434 children, out of a population of one million, nine hundred thousand, were at the same time attending the schools, that is, a fourth part of the whole population. Although the public funds of New York State are great, these schools are not entirely free, but free to all who apply for immunity from payment. The amount of the money paid to the teachers by private persons does not, however, amount to one-third of the whole annual expence, which is somewhat less than a million of dollars.

It is not, however, to be inferred, that education at free-schools is so general all over the United States, as in the four millions of inhabitants of New England and the State of New York; but the provision for public schools is admirable in all the populous states, Pensylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, &c.; and free education can everywhere be procured, even in the southern states, for whites, on application being made for it. The appropriations of land for schools in the old states were formerly very much confined to the donations of individuals, many of which have now, however, become very valuable; but the appropriations for schools in the new states have been regulated by congress, and their extent is immense. Every township of the new lands is divided into thirty-six sections, each a mile square, and each containing 640 acres. One section of every township is appropriated for schools. In addition to this, great appropriations have been made in Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky, and others of the western states, for seminaries of a higher order, to the extent of about one-fifth of those for schools. The land belonging to public schools in the new states and territories, in which appropriations have been made on the east side of the Mississippi, amounts to about eight millions of acres, and is of course advancing in value as the population increases. The extent of land, which will be appropriated to the same purpose when the land on the western side of the Mississippi is settled, must be prodigious,—at present not capable of being guessed at.

The facts now stated respecting the number of per-

sons educated and receiving education at schools in the United States will appear the more striking when contrasted with the provision for schools in Great Britain and Ireland. In England and Ireland the number of persons attending schools, instead of being about one-third, as in Connecticut, or one-fourth, as in the New York State, is at the rate of one in sixteen in England, —in Wales at the rate of one in twenty,—and in Scotland at the rate of one in ten,—and the evils resulting from the great want of schools are increased, in consequence of their not being placed regularly where the population requires them, as in the United States. Thus in Wales, there are about 200 parishes, with a population of 80,000 persons, without schools, or the means of education. There are many parishes in England and Ireland, and great part of the Highlands of Scotland, in a similar situation. It has been ascertained that in Ireland there are 500,000 persons who cannot speak the English language. The number of persons in the Highlands of Scotland who are in a similar predicament is great, certainly to the extent of a third part of the population.

The preceding information in relation to the British islands has been almost altogether derived from official documents obtained a few years ago. It presents views not unworthy of notice, especially if the order and decorum which distinguished the people of the United States, and the total absence in that country of those who in Britain are designated as the rabble, or the mob, are to be ascribed to the general education of the people.

All ranks are educated in those parts of the United States where there is any thing like a crowded population. The order and regularity which pervade their universal suffrage and annual elections have already been described, and are unquestionably in a great measure owing to the education and intelligence of the people, and to their being perfectly well-informed on the general political questions which agitate the country. The example of the United States proves that there is no risk in bestowing the right to vote in elections on all persons, not incapacitated by crime, who have been well educated.

Neither the patroon of Albany, probably the most wealthy landed proprietor in the United States, nor Mr John Jacob Astor, the greatest capitalist of New York, would view their property to be more secure by being authorized to send members to Congress, or to the State Assembly of New York State. It is altogether a different question, whether such privileges as the Americans enjoy may be safely intrusted to a people, few of whom comparatively are educated or well-informed, and who, not possessing that feeling of self-respect for which the Americans are distinguished, might be more easily led into excesses, or to do what was foolish by designing demagogues,—every exertion ought certainly now to be made with a view to render the people of this country fit to be trusted with the right of representation. The expence of the establishment of a general system of education for the whole population of the United Kingdom, though great, need

not be considered as a bugbear. Taking the population at twenty-four millions, and supposing that education is to be provided for one-fourth of it, or for six millions, the annual expence at the same rate as in the State of New York, viz. a million of dollars for 500,000 children, would amount to about two millions and a-half Sterling. It might easily be shown, that the present funds derived from public charities and existing establishments, and from government, for Ireland, and from the landholders of Scotland, are fully equal to defray one-half of the expence. Thus, the sum wanted would be reduced to L. 1,250,000 Sterling.

This sum might probably be raised without any additional tax, by adoption of equitable adjustments as to tithes and lands said to belong to the church. There are estates attached to five Irish bishopricks, worth L. 530,000 a-year, as it is stated in the Edinburgh Review for June 1822. Difficulties no doubt are to be overcome, but in the present state of the world, the universal education of the people of this country would tend more to the stability of the government, and to dissipate those feelings of apprehension which are entertained respecting the influence of demagogues on the lower classes, than any other measures which could be devised.

I had opportunities while I remained in the neighbourhood of Boston of becoming acquainted with several of the masters, and their modes of teaching, and I believe there are nowhere better instructors to be found. Mr Field, the teacher of the South Bos-

ton free-school, and the instructor of Mrs Phinney's daughters, both of whom are well-educated, one of them particularly so, indeed as well-informed a young woman as is usually found in the upper orders in Britain, invited us to his school, where we had ample proofs of the attention paid to the children, and of their acquirements. Their general knowledge, and the celerity with which questions of some difficulty in mental arithmetic were solved, surprised us. The progress of the females was especially remarkable. The Miss Phinneys had a good collection of books, which were at our command when we liked, and they were eager to get from us the perusal of such books as were in our possession which they had not before seen. These young ladies attended to the household duties in the morning, but when their work was finished, and they changed their dress, their appearance and manners fitted them for any society. Mrs Phinney had occasionally evening parties, at which the clergymen, both of the Episcopal and Congregational persuasion, and Mr Field, the teacher, were present. These parties were entirely for conversation. Tea and coffee and cake were succeeded by wine, nuts, &c.

While we remained at Boston the election of a chaplain to the House of Assembly for Massachusetts took place. It was contested. The successful candidate was the Reverend Mr Sharp, pastor of one of the Baptist churches at Boston. All religious sects are not only tolerated in this country, but possess equal privileges.

I have already mentioned that the charge for boarding in Mrs Phinney's house was three and a-half dollars per week, and her charges were altogether very moderate, of which I cannot give a stronger instance than this, that Mr Smith, our former landlord at Boston, with a mutual friend of ours, dined with us by invitation one day, and her charge for their dinner, at which among other good things roasted turkey and apple-pie were presented, and for coffee, amounted for both to sixty-seven cents, about two shillings and ninepence Sterling.

There was a contested election for the office of Mayor of Boston in the month of December while we were there. There were two candidates, Mr Otis and Mr Quincey. Mr Otis was elected by a majority of 500, the whole number of votes given being 4516.

Quincey, to which I paid a visit before leaving Boston, is a village a few miles from it, well known, because in its neighbourhood there is landed property of the late president of the United States, Mr John Adams, now belonging to his son Mr John Quincey Adams, and their country residence, a very unpretending plain building. There are very fine quarries of granite in this neighbourhood, from which a railway has recently been made to the beach. In the village of Quincey a very handsome church of Quincey granite has lately been built, partly from funds bequeathed by the late John Adams. This church contains a plain monument, erected by Mr John Quincey Adams to the memory of his father.

In the boarding-houses in the United States clothes are never washed, but always given out to washerwomen. Mrs Carpenter, who lived about a quarter of a mile from the shore, was our washerwoman while we remained at the sea-side. Finding that we were Scotch, she expressed great anxiety to hear all the particulars we could tell her respecting the family of *one* Burns the poet, her own parent being Scotch, and related to Burns. We had it in our power to give her some information on this subject; and in return for our civility, she invited us to a tea-party, which we should have gladly accepted, as we wished to see the manners of all ranks in this country, if I had not been under orders to remain at home in the evening until the effects of my late accident were entirely removed.

The 4th March was celebrated at Boston as a holiday, on account of its being the inauguration day of General Jackson as President of the United States. We were amused with part of the programme for the procession:—"The procession will move from the new State-House, escorted by that elegant democratic company, the Washington Light Infantry, under the command of Captain Kendall, who will appear on this occasion in a splendid new uniform." There were, as usual, religious services and an oratorio, and all the citizens were invited to join in the procession.

While we were in the neighbourhood of Boston, a trial for libel, of an interesting nature, took place. Although the law, both civil and criminal, in the United States, and the forms for enforcing it, are derived

from England, many great changes have been made. One of the most striking alterations,—the improvements I may well say,—is contained in the following article of the constitution of New York and other states, which at a late period has been adopted into that of Massachusetts :—" Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech, or of the press. In all prosecutions or indictments for libel, the truth may be given in evidence to the jury; and if it shall appear to the jury that the matter charged as libellous is true, and was published with good motives, and for justifiable ends, the party shall be acquitted; and the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the fact."

The action to which I allude originated in public business, which requires some explanation. The leaders of the Federalist party in New England, to which Mr John Quincey Adams, as well as his father, the second president of the United States, belongs, were hostile to the embargo on their own vessels, to which President Jefferson's government resorted in the year 1808, in consequence of the British orders in Council, and of the Milan decree. At this period Mr John Quincey Adams was a senator of the United States, but, the republican party being in power, he was unemployed. Soon afterwards, however, he was taken into favour by President Jefferson,—was in 1819 sent to Russia as minister,—and has filled the highest offices of the state

ever since. On Mr Munroe's retirement from the presidency, he, in March 1825, succeeded in being elected president after a keen contest with General Jackson. It now turns out, that, on the present occasion, General Jackson had a considerable majority of votes, and that he will fill the president's chair when Mr Adams's first term of four years expires in March next; but the probable issue of the election was not by any means ascertained until very near the close of the contest. At that period some injudicious friends of Mr Adams, with a view, as it should seem, to impress the people, previous to the presidential election, with a belief in the almost Spartan virtue of Mr Adams,—by showing that he was willing to sacrifice his dearest friends rather than that the republic should suffer,—published from a copy which they had obtained from the repository of President Jefferson, a letter to a friend, in which he gave him information respecting the unconstitutional or almost treasonable views of the leaders of the Federalists in Massachusetts at the period of the embargo, which he said he had in 1808 received from Mr Adams. Mr Jefferson's letter was not written till the year 1825, when his memory was impaired, and he was obviously inaccurate in many particulars. Still, statements were made in the letter of such a description, as to render it indispensably necessary for Mr Adams, as soon as they were made public on such authority, to deny them altogether, or to specify what parts of them he admitted to be true. He, therefore, in the end of October 1828, a very short period before the election

for the next president, published in a Washington newspaper an article admitting, that he, in the year 1808, gave President Jefferson and other friends information of designs formed by the leading Federalists of New England, with a view to effect a dissolution of the union, so far as New England was concerned.

This discovery was quite unexpected by the individuals alluded to, with whom Mr Adams's habits of intercourse have remained unchanged; and Mr Otis, the present mayor of Boston, and about a dozen of the most respectable inhabitants of Boston, who unquestionably were at the head of the Federal party of Massachusetts at the period to which Mr Adams's communications to President Jefferson referred, have not only most solemnly disavowed all knowledge of the designs imputed to them, or of any plan of a similar tendency, but have publicly, and in writing, called on Mr Adams to specify the individuals to whom he alluded in those communications, and the evidence on which his charges against them rested. Mr Adams has declined to afford this information, on the ground that the reputation of individuals might now needlessly suffer by the disclosure of names, which, even at the time when he made the disclosures, he did not think fit to divulge, and that, by giving such information, he might subject himself to actions for libel. Very long statements from each party have recently been published in the newspapers, which have produced a pretty general conviction, even among his own political supporters in New England, that Mr Adams was ready to sacrifice his friends in order to forward his

own ambitious views, and which have tended to reconcile them not only to his being deprived of the presidency for the second term, but to his having thus, in all likelihood, put an end to his political life. It is singular that the presidents since Washington who have only remained in office for the first term of four years were Mr John Adams, and his son, Mr John Quincey Adams, both belonging to the Federal party; while the other presidents, Jefferson, Madison, and Munroe, have retained the situation each for eight years.

On one of the last days of October General Lyman, a very respectable person, the editor of a newspaper published at Boston called the Jackson Republican, inserted in its columns Mr Jefferson's letter, with the article referring to it, which Mr Adams had communicated to the Washington paper, and with a commentary on those documents, the contents of which gave rise to this action, by indictment for libel, at the instance of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts against General Lyman.

It is stated in the article referred to, that Mr Webster, who is a senator of the United States, and New England lawyer at the head of the bar, and certainly at present a person of the most eminent public character in New England, with other individuals named in that article, were undoubtedly leaders of the federal party at the period when Mr Adams made the communications in question; and that Mr Adams admits, in the article published by him at Washington, that those persons were engaged in a plot to dissolve the

union, and that he possessed unequivocal evidence of the design. General Lyman farther states, in the article referred to, that Mr Webster and those individuals still are Mr Adams's political friends; and he asks, how Mr Adams could hold Mr Webster to his bosom as a counsellor, whom he had denounced as a traitor? and how he could live in habits of friendship and intimacy, eating their bread and drinking their wine, with individuals whom he had accused of a plot to dissolve the union.

The trial took place before the Supreme Judicial Court on the 16th and 17th December. The real party was Mr Webster, the action being brought for the libel against him alone. Although there were neither wigs nor gowns, the proceedings were conducted with most perfect decorum, and with considerable talent. The trial excited much interest, and the court was crowded. One circumstance was quite new, the proceedings being suspended for an hour at two o'clock, and at three being recommenced *after* dinner. The counsel for the prosecution was the Solicitor-General of Massachusetts, Davis. Messrs Dexter and Hubbard were for the defendant. When Mr Hubbard closed the defence the first day, the solicitor-general intimated, that, from fatigue, he would scarcely be able to do justice at that time to his case, by attempting to close on the part of the prosecution. The defendant's counsel objected to the delay, because his argument might not be so distinctly remembered by the jury next day. The court granted the delay, ob-

serving, that it was unfortunate to break off the case at this point, but that the defendant's counsel would be allowed to recapitulate the chief points in the case next morning. The greatest courtesy prevails on all occasions, so far as I can learn, between the judges and the bar, and between the gentlemen of the bar themselves.

The authorship and publication were proved in the usual way. The defence was, that there was no intention to libel Mr Webster, and that the alleged libel was a fair commentary on what Mr Adams had written, the object being to hold Mr Adams up to ridicule and contempt, with a view to show that he was unworthy of being re-elected to the presidential chair; that the intention of General Lyman was merely to expose the apostacy of Mr Adams, in having disowned and held up as traitors such men as Mr Webster, and other persons of great wealth and property, and that his view could only be made clear by mentioning names; that the construction put upon the communication of Mr Adams was correct and obvious to the eye of reason; and that, on the whole, there was a total want of any malicious intent on the part of General Lyman.

The Chief Justice Parker's charge seemed to me extremely fair, as published in the newspapers. I therefore insert it, as a specimen of the style of speaking on the bench of this country.

"It was unfortunate," he said, "that there ever was occasion for this prosecution. It was unfortunate,

too, that, after it commenced, there had not been some amicable disposition of it, upon explanations not derogatory to the honour of the accused, and yet satisfactory to the feelings of the party aggrieved. It was very apparent, from some of the evidence in the case, that, but for the interposition of some point of etiquette to which importance had been attached, such a disposition of it would have taken place. It is one of those prosecutions, which, though public in its character, yet, as it is instigated by an individual as much to protect his own character as for the public interest, an accommodation would be permitted by the court. But the honour of the gentlemen was in their own hands; and if that is thought to create an insuperable barrier between them, we can only regret that the controversy must be terminated by the *ultima ratio* of peaceable citizens,—a verdict of the jury of their country. In other parts of the country this *ultima ratio* might have been of a different kind. No case could be presented to a jury with less reason to apprehend that their final opinion would be founded upon any thing but what ought always to be its basis,—the law and the evidence.

"The accuser and the accused stand before you, gentlemen, with high claims upon your consideration and respect. The former has brought much reputation and dignity to this his adopted state, by his eminent talents in every department where he has been called to act. His name has pervaded every part of the union; and the fame of his talents has gone far beyond

its limits. The latter is a native of your own city; has been deservedly a favourite of the citizens; and has been highly useful to the commonwealth in civil and military departments, and in support of those institutions which are the pride and ornament of the city. Between such men it must be unpleasant to be called on to decide; but the law has summoned you to this duty, and you will discharge it faithfully; nor is there any reason to apprehend that any political feeling or circumstances will influence or pervert your judgments.

"Though a great political struggle has existed, it is now over, and, I believe, has, in this part of the country, left much less of bitterness behind it than any preceding conflict of the kind. We know too well the value of independent opinion, and estimate too justly the free right of suffrage, to call in question the honour and integrity of those who take a side different from our own. An administration man and a Jackson man can sit side by side,—receive the evidence and arguments of a cause,—and agree or disagree in their results, without any reference to their past political differences. Such ought to be the case in a country like ours—such, I believe, was the case; and with respect to those political events of past times, which the president has seen fit, after a burial of twenty years, to spread before the nation, of which disclosure the present prosecution is one of the first fruits, the young, —who know nothing except from the president's communication, when they see the names of those who are branded as traitors,—will smile with incredulity; and

those who are old enough to have been partakers in the plot will withhold the expression of their opinion until a fit occasion arises to divulge it.

"The case before you, gentlemen, is a prosecution by indictment for a libel,—and a libel of a political bearing and character. Prosecutions of this nature have, both in England and in this country, been the source of more trouble and disquiet than any other. They excite the passions and feelings of the friends and partizans of those who are immediately interested; and the contagion is apt to spread through the community.

"The liberty of the press is always a subject of discussion in such cases, and this is a subject which, more than any other, engages the public attention, and interests the popular feeling. And very justly,—because the press is the chief engine to create and sustain civil, political, and religious liberty.

"It has been truly said, that no country, where there is a free press and an educated people, can remain long under a despotic government; and I believe that no country, without such a press, however popular may be its forms and institutions, can long remain free. It is the sustaining vital principle of freedom,—it proclaims the vices and abuses of government—the rights of the citizen—the merits and demerits of rulers—and these are its proper and legitimate offices. He who would restrain it in the exercise of these functions, commits treason against the fundamental principles of civil liberty.

"But the press is not invested with the power or

right of invading private character, or of circulating falsehood against public or private men. It may promulgate truth, however harsh and severe, with good purpose, and with an honest view to expose or reform; but it cannot, with impunity, under the garb of good motives and justifiable ends, traduce and calumniate. Powerful as the press is, it has a master; that master is the *law*, which, when it transgresses its legitimate bounds, will punish the transgression. It may be difficult accurately to define these bounds;—they contract or extend with the subject about which it treats. Each case stands almost independently of every other, depending upon the facts or circumstances which belong to it; and hence the principle now universally acknowledged in this country, and in England, that the jury, who are a selection from the people, shall determine the whole case, both as to law and fact, by a general verdict of guilty or not guilty; unless they choose to refer the matter of law to the court, in the form of a special verdict.

"There have been great controversies upon this subject, and the highest order of talents exercised upon it. Until quite a recent period in English history, the judges arrogated to themselves the right to determine the criminality of an alleged libel; leaving to the jury the power only of finding the fact of publishing, and the truth of the inuendoes. But in the late reign of George the Third, by an act of Parliament, the whole power of determining the facts and law has been vested in the jury.

"I believe that was always the law with us; it certainly is now. It never could have been otherwise in practice, whatever might be the theory,—for the jury have always had the right to return a general verdict, which involves both law and fact; and when there was an acquittal, there was no power in the court to suspend or defeat their verdict. With this popular guard over the rights of the press, and the rights of the citizen, the system is safe from anything but occasional errors, which, though to be regretted, will scarcely be able to produce general mischief. But the jury have a right to the advice and opinion of the court upon all matters of law arising in the course of the trial; and, indeed, it is the duty of the court to give such advice and opinion, clearly and distinctly, in order that the jury, with whom is the final responsibility, shall not excuse themselves from an erroneous verdict on the score of ignorance.

"The decision of this cause, then, gentlemen, rests entirely with you; and you must act with the intelligence and discretion which the occasion demands.

"It is my duty to state to you the leading principles which ought to guide your deliberations, and, where I perceive any question of law, to endeavour to solve it in such manner that you may clearly comprehend it. If I should be mistaken to the prejudice of the defendant, he is not without remedy,—if in his favour, and the opinion is sanctioned by your verdict, he is discharged.

"The publication complained of as a libel is contain-

ed in a newspaper called the Jackson Republican, bearing the date of the 29th October last. The paper you will have in evidence was purchased at the office of the proprietors of that paper, and the defendant has acknowledged, in a letter to Messrs Curtis and Fletcher, in answer to one written by them, that he is the author of the piece complained of.

"The fact of the publication being thus proved, the paragraph is submitted to your consideration; and the question to be settled by you is, whether it is criminal or libellous? And the general question comprehends all the various points which have arisen in the case,—such as the sense and meaning of the words made use of,—the explanation attempted to be given by reference to other communications in the same paper, and whether it is false and malicious in the sense in which these terms are used in the law. These are all matters clearly within your province to determine. And first, I think you will read the piece itself to ascertain, as well as you can, its true import and meaning; and if you find it has reference to any other communication, you will examine that, in order to come at the true sense and meaning of the piece set forth in the indictment.

It purports to be a commentary on certain communications agreed to have been made by the president of the United States in the National Intelligencer, at Washington, which are printed in the same number of the Jackson Republican. Without doubt, the defendant had a right to publish any fair commentary upon that communication made by the president. If that

high officer will commit his thoughts and opinions, or what he considers facts, to a public newspaper, they become public property, and any citizen has a lawful right to criticise or speculate upon the opinions, and to deny the facts, or comment upon them, observing only the rules of decorum in his treatment of the subject. But he has not a right to misrepresent them, or to draw unreasonable inferences from them, to the prejudice of the reputations of other persons. If he does this wilfully, in such manner as to expose a third party to public indignation, hatred, or contempt, he cannot shelter himself under cover of the communication upon which he made his commentary.

"The first sentence of the commentary is unexceptionable. The writer then proceeds to say, 'The reader will observe, that Mr Adams distinctly asserts that H. G. Otis, S. Dexter, W. Prescott, Daniel Webster, and others of the federal party of their age and standing, were engaged in a plot to dissolve the union, and to re-annex New England to Great Britain, and that Mr Adams possessed unequivocal evidence of the most solemn design. The reader will also observe, that, in the statement just published of Mr Adams, there is no intimation whatever that he does not still believe what he revealed to Mr Jefferson and Mr Giles twenty years ago.'

"This by the government is believed to be libellous, not as a direct charge by the defendant, that the gentlemen whose names are mentioned were engaged in the plot therein mentioned, but because it states that Mr

Adams distinctly asserts that they were. On returning to the communication of Mr Adams, I suppose you will not find that he has mentioned any person by name, as engaged in such a plot; nor does he distinctly assert that such a plot existed; he speaks of the purpose and views of certain leaders of the federal party who had the management of the state legislature. That the embargo would be met with forcible resistance, supported by the legislature, and probably by the judiciary of the state: That, if force should be resorted to by the government, it would produce a civil war, and in that event he had no doubt the leaders of the party would procure the co-operation of Great Britain: That their object was, and had been for several years, a dissolution of the union, and the establishment of a separate confederation; he knew from unequivocal evidence, although not proveable in a court of law, &c.

"There is then no distinct assertion of Mr Adams in the communication, that the several gentlemen whose names are mentiomed in the commentary were those who were engaged in these proceedings. There is, however, a distinct assertion, that the leaders of the federal party were so engaged; and the counsel for the defendant argue, that the gentlemen whom he has named being at the time such leaders, the insertion of their names did not add any thing in substance to Mr Adams' communication; and I am of opinion that, if you should be satisfied that the gentlemen named were the persons whom Mr Adams intended to designate as leaders of the federal party at that time, that the insertion of those

names would not be an unfair or unjustifiable commentary upon the communication,—it would be only filling up a picture, the figures of which were as distinct and discernible to the mind before as after filling up. And though this might be a libel by Mr Adams, yet, if the commentary introduced no new matter, and was only a fair exposition of the communication, it would not be a libel.

"But the case of Mr Webster may be considered by you different from that of the other gentlemen named. It is insisted by the government, that Mr Adams in his communication confines his remarks to the leading federalists in the State of Massachusetts; and that, as Mr Webster was not then an inhabitant of this state, he could not have been intended by Mr Adams as one of the leading federalists to whom he imputed the objects, acts, and purposes mentioned in the communication; so that the insertion of his name was altogether gratuitous and unjustifiable.

"The answer given to this is, that Mr Adams spoke of, or had in view, the federal party of New England and their leaders; and that, as Mr Webster is admitted to have been an eminent and conspicuous federalist in New Hampshire, he fell within the class described by Mr Adams.

"You will look over the communication of Mr Adams, and see whether he has reference to any as chargeable with high political offences, except those of his own native state. I do not think it will do to refer to Mr Jefferson's letter on this point, because the defendant

says that Mr Adams distinctly asserts, undoubtedly referring to Mr Adams' own communication. The insertion of Mr Webster's name, if not justified by the communication of Mr Adams, was not warranted; and if done wilfully, and the effect is to expose him to scorn or hatred, it is libellous; if by mere inadvertence or mistake, as has been suggested, it is not so.

" The other part of the paper objected to as libellous is in these words:—' Why, for three years he has held to his bosom, as a political counsellor, Daniel Webster, a man whom he called in his midnight denunciation, a traitor in 1808?'

" This, again, does not charge Mr Webster with being a traitor, but alleges that Mr Adams had called him one. To say in print that a person of high standing has called one a traitor, is libellous, unless it appear from the context that it was intended to show that such a denunciation was unjust; for the imputation of crime is not necessary to constitute a libel. Any opprobrious terms calculated to expose the party of whom they are used to contumely may be libellous. It is not so in mere verbal slander, unless some special damage be proved.

" The last section of the paper described in the indictment is in these words: ' And as the last question why, during the visits he has made to Boston, he always met on friendly, intimate, and social terms, all the gentlemen whose names, a few years before, he placed upon a secret record in the archives of the government as traitors to their country?'

" It is argued by the counsel, that this does not intend necessarily that Mr Webster was one of those whose names are thus recorded. Of this you must judge; if, by looking at the whole piece, you are satisfied the writer, in this sentence, had reference to all those whose names are mentioned below, then of course Mr Webster is included. It is also said that this is a mere rhetorical flourish, and means nothing more than was contained in the preceding parts of the comment; and if you are satisfied that the writer, by records and archives, meant nothing more than the letters of Mr Adams, referred to in his communication, the remark is fair, and this should not be considered as distinct libellous matter, but a mere amplification of the former charge. But if you believe the writer intended by this to assert, that this charge of his being a traitor was actually recorded, it is certainly the most serious part of the subject.

" But there is another ground of defence taken distinct from this detailed view, and which covers the whole matter of the supposed libel.

" It is argued, that, from the political purpose with which this paper was set up,—it being for the lawful object of advocating the election of the successful candidate,—and from the obvious tenor of the piece itself, having due reference to the communication it was intended to criticise,—that it necessarily follows that the use of the names was not with a view to prejudice those persons, but merely to put in a strong point of view what was thought by the writer to be an improper and

dishonourable conduct on the part of Mr Adams,—that these names were holden up to the community as illustrative of the extreme injustice of Mr Adams' accusation against the leaders of the federal party. If this be the true purport and effect of the publication, and it would be so understood by intelligent readers, then certainly it is not libellous; for, if the words of a supposed libel are not calculated to injure the party of whom they are used in the opinion of the community, they have no noxious meaning or tendency, and such tendency is an essential ingredient of offence.

"This is a matter about which you will exercise your best discretion. If you are satisfied that the object of the writer was to disparage Mr Adams in the minds of the citizens, and that these names were held up in contrast with his communication, and that such is the natural meaning, then the defendant will be acquitted. You will not, however, strain the words to give them such a meaning, but judge of them as well as you can from the effect they produced on you when you first read them; comparing the opinion you then formed with the arguments and evidence you have now heard, and form your opinion, cautiously and deliberately, on the real tendency and effect of the publication.

"In regard to a malicious intent, which it is said must be made to appear, the law does not require proof of particular malice. If the publication was unjustifiable, and its natural tendency was to create hostile feel-

ings, aversion, and hatred towards Mr Webster, malice is inferred by law.

"The inference which the law makes may be rebutted by direct proof of an honest purpose and an innocent design; without such proof the act itself is evidence of malice. You have had all the evidence on this part of the subject, and will judge of it.

"With regard to the form of the indictment, in which it is supposed there is an unnecessary accumulation of harsh epithets, I suppose it is in the usual form. The prefatory words of general accusation are wholly immaterial. If the defendant is convicted, it is only of this libel; his character in other respects will stand as fair as before. This is the antiquated dress of indictments, which might usefully be exchanged for a more modern costume.

"In regard to the circumstances relied upon to prove particular malice, as they have happened since the publication, much reliance cannot be placed upon them; as subsequent circumstances have produced them, and they will not go far to show the interest at the time of publication."

The result of the trial was, that the jury could not agree in a verdict, and were discharged. No new trial was applied for.

Another singular indictment for a libel was the subject of a trial at Boston on the 8th March 1829. The character of a young man who died was held out in the columns of a newspaper, edited by a religious sect called Universalists, to which he belonged, as having

been irreproachable, and it was particularly stated that he had never used profane language. A commentary on this notice appeared in an Anti-Universalist newspaper, stating that this young man, instead of being an example to others, and free from the use of profanity, was actually habituated to it. After a long trial, at the instance of the commonwealth, against the editor of the last-mentioned newspaper, for having published the commentary alluded to, and a most patient and fair charge on the part of the judge, the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty, declaring, that, although they did not approve of the publication, they had acquitted him, on the ground that they did not think that the defendant had any particular malice against the deceased; but the most remarkable part of the trial related to objections made to witnesses, on the ground that they did not believe in the doctrine of rewards and punishments in another world, and the judge, in the first instance, allowing evidence to be led on that point. He was afterwards satisfied he had done wrong, and, in his charge to the jury, made the following candid admission:—"In the course of the examination of some of the witnesses, much time was spent in inquiries as to the extent of their religious belief. I confess that I have always been desirous to exclude from this hall all inquiries which have a tendency to excite a sectarian or party spirit, either in religion or politics. Good men will differ on these points, and their passions will insensibly become enlisted in the controversy. It is the duty of courts to assuage the violence of party spirit,

and to administer justice with an equal hand. To withhold equal civil privileges from any of our citizens, however they may differ in their speculative views of religious faith, seems to me to be against the spirit of our institutions. Objections to witnesses, arising from defective or erroneous views of religion, ought to go to the credibility rather than to the competency of a witness; and in conformity with this sentiment, where it was objected to a witness, that he did not believe in the existence of a future state, on account of his professed declarations to that effect, our Supreme Judicial Court still admitted him to testify, considering the objection as applying to the credibility and not to his competency, 15 Mass. R. 1824, Hunscomb *v.* Hunscomb. Errors in speculation insensibly creep into the mind, having their origin in our virtues as well as in our defects—sometimes arising from education and example, sometimes from pride and vanity. Some men think it the part of wisdom to doubt everything, while other deem it meritorious to believe even in impossibilities. It is best to leave them all to the corrections of reason, and to the sure influence of time, 'which, while it dissipates the errors of opinion, will not fail to confirm the decisions of truth.'

"It is well settled, that atheists, and such infidels as profess not any religion that can bind their consciences to speak the truth, are excluded from being witnesses. But every person who believes in the obligation of an oath, whatever may be his religious creed, whether Jew, Christian, Mahomedan, or Pagan, is an admis-

sible witness, and may testify in a court of justice, being sworn according to that form of oath, which, according to his creed, he holds to be obligatory. Phillipson, Evidence, 19. It may be justly doubted, whether it is not wholly inconsistent with the rights of conscience to compel a man to disclose his opinions on religious subjects, inasmuch as they are matters between his conscience and his God. If, from his veneration to truth, he should avow the belief of a sentiment which would render him unpopular or odious to his fellow-citizens, or to any class of them, or which would tend to his disgrace or injury, it would be to criminate or bear witness against himself. If, therefore, an objection is taken to a witness on account of his religious sentiments, it is very reasonable that these should be proved by other witnesses; and I cannot but regret, that I allowed any of the witnesses who have been examined on this trial to be interrogated on these points, with a view to their own disqualification; and, with my present views of the law, I should not allow it to be done again."

In several parts of the United States such objections to witnesses have been settled by acts of the state legislature. In the State of Connecticut, the following act of the legislature, which is inserted as an example of brevity to the legislatures of other countries, was lately passed. It is almost as short as the acts of the Scotch Parliament before the union of England:—"Be it enacted, that no person who believes in the existence of a Supreme Being shall, on account of his religious opinions, be

adjudged an incompetent witness for any court of judicature in this state."

The forms of writs, and of proceedings in courts, were all originally the same in this country as in England; but many changes for the better have been made in those forms, as well in the criminal as civil systems of jurisprudence. Much, as it appears to me, yet requires to be done to simplify and render perfect the system of national jurisprudence, which, it is truly observed by an eminent writer, constitutes the firmest bond to secure a cheerful submission of the people, and to engage their affections to the government.

It must, however, be admitted, that many great and essential improvements have been made, both in relation to the forms of proceedings, and the laws, civil and criminal. Forms of writings have been very much shortened, but many of the absurd fictions of the English law are still retained. Deeds of mortgage, however, I have seen completed in two short pages of paper, which is no inconsiderable curtailment of a deed of the same kind in England.

Then the cheapness of law in America puts it in the power of all to obtain redress. In England it has been stated by a great authority to be better, in a pecuniary point of view, to give up L. 40 than to contend for it, because it costs that sum in England to gain a cause; and that in a court of equity it is better to abandon L. 500 or L. 1000 than to contend for it. The absurdities of the English marriage law are unknown in America. The poorest person has it in his power, when

necessary, to apply for, and obtain, a divorce,—a privilege which is in England reserved for the peerage and a few of the wealthiest of the citizens. Entails, it is well known, are prohibited; and the property of a person deceased is divided among his children, unless he settles it otherwise by will.

In their criminal code the punishment of death is seldom inflicted but in cases of murder, fire-raising, piracy, and robbery of the mail. Persons accused of crimes of all descriptions are entitled to the assistance of counsel on their trials.

The expence of the judicial establishments of this country is very trifling compared to what it is elsewhere. In New England and the State of New York, the population of which is about twice as great as that of Scotland, the whole expence of the courts and requisite establishment does not amount to L. 25,000 Sterling.

CHAPTER XV.

Journey from Boston to Providence by Dedham and Pawtucket—Incident at the Hotel at Dedham—Road from Pawtucket to Providence—Stage from Providence to Hartford—Stages call for Passengers before the Hour of Departure—Mr Lad and Anti-War Societies—Hartford—The Charter Oak—The Deaf and Dumb Asylum—Monte Video—Stage from Hartford to Newhaven—Culture of Onions—Women not allowed to work out of the House—Academy of Messrs Dwight—Yale College—Burying-Ground—Bay—Hackney Coach and Driver—Breaking of Horses—Steam-Boat from Newhaven to New York—Long Island Sound—Hellgate—Steamboat Expedition from New York—Mount Vernon on the East River—Boarding-House—Its Style.

From 20th April to 2d May 1829.

THE snow did not wholly disappear at Boston during the month of March, and even until the middle of April some vestiges of it remained. On the 20th April we left the neighbourhood of Boston. We travelled in the stage on the first day to Providence, forty-two miles from Boston, passing through a considerable tract of poorish land near Boston, the enclosures of which were generally walls of stone without lime, called in Scotland Galloway Dykes. We dined at a beautiful village called Dedham, where every thing was nice,

and the house clean and excellent. A female waiter attended at dinner, a very pretty girl, on whom one of our fellow-travellers, an Irish gentleman, bestowed more notice than is relished, or rather allowed, in such circumstances in this country. He first looked hard at her, and then said to his neighbour at table, but so as to be overheard by us all, "What a charming creature." The girl blushed, and did not lose a moment in leaving the room. It happened, fortunately, that there were other waiters in the house. The hotel-keeper did not make his appearance, as we had expected, to complain of what he no doubt considered rudeness and familiarity on the part of this gentleman; but another of our stage companions, a resident of Boston, explained to our Irish fellow-traveller how very different the manners of the two countries, in relation to the error he had committed, were in houses of public entertainment; that the profession of an innkeeper was reckoned perfectly respectable here; and that the daughters of the innkeepers, though as well educated as the daughters of any other persons in the state, did not consider themselves degraded by attending to the household work in the mornings; and that it was not at all impossible that the female who had been remarked upon so unceremoniously was one of the daughters of the landlord, who, as soon as dinner was over, would dress as smartly as any of the young ladies in the town, and be received on a complete footing of equality in the most respectable families. He therefore recommended to our fellow-traveller to beware of repeating conduct of this kind,

as it might happen, that he might find a landlord who would resent it, by turning him out of his house without much warning. Instances of this kind had often happened.

Approaching Providence, we passed Pawtucket, where there are considerable cotton manufactories, and from whence to Providence, there is the best road over which I have travelled in the United States;—there are handsome footpaths, rows of trees on each side of the road, and even milestones every quarter of a mile. There is not a piece of better Macadamized road in England. An act of the legislature of Rhode Island, of which Providence is the chief town, had been obtained some years ago, which declared, that all the money to be collected at the turnpike gate on the road, with the exception of ten per cent., should be expended on the road itself; and the commissioners are now almost at a loss how to lay out their funds beneficially.

Providence, where we stopped for a day, is a considerable commercial town, with about 15,000 inhabitants. It is placed on Providence River, in a fine elevated situation. The seminaries for education here are upon a great scale. The steam-vessels from New York bring the passengers for Boston to Providence, which is 180 miles from New York. The rest of the journey is performed in the stage.

We paid for our places in the stage to Hartford, on the Connecticut River, on the evening previously to that of the journey. The hour of departure, we were told, was five o'clock. Next morning, accordingly,

we were making preparations to be ready at that hour, when a loud knock at the door of our bed-room, and a call from the driver, when it was yet twenty minutes before five, made us quicken our preparations; but we found it impossible to be ready much sooner than five o'clock. When we got into the stage, both the driver and some of the passengers complained, because, as the stage was to pick up various passengers at different parts of the town after we got into it, some time would be taken up, and the stage would not leave the town itself until nearly half an hour after the proper period of departure. The passengers were very soon brought to reason, when they found that it had not been explained to us that the stage would be at the door sooner than five; and at the first stopping-place, I turned the tables against the driver for not giving us intimation on the previous evening that we should be wanted before five. In the course of my subsequent travels in the United States, I found that it was generally necessary to be ready twenty minutes before the regular hour, in order to afford time for the stage to call, as is always done, for the passengers at their respective houses. Even in the great cities of New York and Philadelphia, the stages call for the passengers, unless their residences are at very inconvenient distances.

On our way to Hartford, Mr Lad, a gentleman who lives in the northern part of New England, near Portsmouth I think, and who has lately made himself remarkable by his enthusiastic endeavours to convince

the world of the folly of war, joined the stage. We found him a very agreeable companion, and possessed of a great deal of information. He has been again and again in Europe; and is married to an English lady, who accompanied him. Like other enthusiasts, he recurred rather too frequently for general conversation to the subject which engrosses his thoughts,—the establishment of anti-war societies.

He was to lecture at Hartford next day in favour of his theory. His great text seemed to be, that, as Christ and his apostles commanded all men to live in peace, no man who voluntarily engaged in war yielded obedience to the Christian religion. He was confident that, at no distant period, Britain, America, and France, would form an association to prevent future wars over the earth.

We did not arrive at Hartford till very late in the evening, and found the door of our hotel locked. The waiter, an American, did not receive us very courteously, and made some difficulties as to getting us tea and supper; but his master, to whom we next morning communicated what had happened, expressed himself very much dissatisfied with his conduct, and we had ample amends by his attention for his servant's want of civility. Hartford is a very handsome country town. The streets are wide. One of the great objects of attraction here is the charter-oak, which is still standing in the lower part of the town, and is said to have been a forest tree before the land was cleared. The original charter to the State of Connecticut was

demanded by Sir Edmund Andross, on the part of the English government, in 1687. The legislature had no alternative but to deliver it up. At the meeting appointed for that purpose, which was attended by the British agent, the candles in the room where the meeting was held in the evening were extinguished, and the charter seized by a citizen, who escaped and conveyed it to this tree, in which it remained until after the revolution. The charter is still preserved in the office of the secretary of state.

The country is very rich-looking in the neighbourhood of Hartford, and the vicinity adorned with many handsome villas. One sign in the town amused us, "Hot Oysters and Cold Ham."—Hot ham and cold oysters, we should rather have expected.

The Deaf and Dumb Asylum is a handsome and large building in the neighbourhood of the town. This institution, under the charge of Mr Gallandet, has been eminently successful. Its permanent funds amount to about L. 50,000 Sterling. The number of pupils is about seventy.

On the day after we reached Hartford, we made an excursion about nine miles into the country from Hartford, in order to see what is rare in this country, the seat and pleasure grounds of a country gentleman, and were not disappointed. Monte Video,—the property of Mr Daniel Wordsworth,—stands in a very fine situation, not less than 600 feet above the Connecticut river, and the beautiful meadows and pasture grounds on each side of it. The road to the house (which is here considered

a great mansion, though quite inferior, considering the splendid features of the scene, to a third rate country gentleman's house in England, or to what would be expected from any one who placed his mansion-house in a spot so well entitled to a noble edifice,) is about three miles in length, and is carried over a succession of small hills finely wooded. There is a handsome piece of water near the house, and a hill behind it; from a tower on the top of which there is as magnificent a view, bounded by the hills of Massachusetts, of as rich and fertile a country as there is in the world, watered by a great river, the Connecticut, the windings of which are all in sight. Advantage has certainly been taken of the natural beauties of the place in laying it out,—the road, the piece of water, and the grounds; but nothing about the place is kept in the handsome style of an English country residence. In one respect only, the mode of laying out a place here is, in consequence of the heat of the climate, superior to ours. They have much finer fruit than us, without being obliged to have recourse to the formality of a garden wall, generally very injurious to the appearance of our country seats, especially of the smaller ones. The expence of our carriage, a light coach for four persons, from Hartford to and from Monte Video, was three dollars and a-half. We only returned in time for a very late dinner.

From Hartford we had a day's journey in the stage to Newhaven, upon Long Island Sound, along the west bank of the Connecticut river. The meadows are here very valuable, but they were not yet relieved from a

great overflow of the Connecticut river, which generally happens on the melting of the snow at this season.

The soil is of so very fine a quality a few miles below Hartford on this road, that a considerable part of it is devoted to the culture of onions for exportation. A great part of the labour necessary for their cultivation is performed by children and by women, who are here permitted to work in the open ground. Women are never allowed in the United States to work out of doors; it is considered inconsistent with the respect due to the sex; but an exception has been long admitted at Wethersfield, the village near which the onions are chiefly cultivated, on account of the necessity, at particular periods, of employing a great many hands for a few days.

Newhaven, which we reached on the 25th April, is considered one of the handsomest towns of its size (population 9000 or 10,000,) in the United States. In point of situation, neatness, cleanness, and elegance of buildings, it is as unlike the well-known dirty village of Newhaven on the Forth as can well be conceived. The two resemble each other in name and their situation on an inland sea, but in nothing else. The city is built on a large plain, about two miles from north to south, and three from east to west. The hotel where we were is about as large, or larger, than that on the Waterloo Bridge in Edinburgh; and the academy for boys, kept by the Messrs Dwight, contains about the same accommodation as one of the Edinburgh High Schools. The number and size of the schools and se-

minaries of education would surprise us, if we did not know that education is in the power of all in this country.

The streets and squares are quite regular, and all shaded with fine trees. In the centre of the city is the public square, in which are situated the State-House, two Congregational churches, and one Episcopal. Yale College is situated on one side of the square. The buildings of Yale College are plain, but of considerable extent, and the number of students about 500.

The American Journal of Science and Arts is conducted at Newhaven by Professor Silliman, who is equally well known in Europe and in this country. The burying ground at Newhaven is laid out with more care and attention, and better kept, than any other ground devoted to the same purpose in the United States. It is of considerable size, and formed in broad lanes, shaded with weeping willows, poplars, &c. The whole has a good effect; and many of the monuments are fine,—a considerable number of them brought from Italy. In short, this is quite the *Pere la Chaise* of the United States.

The bay, at the inmost part of which the town of Newhaven is built, is large, surrounded with headlands, and behind them on each side of the town by the West and East Rock, and Mount Carmel. These rocks very much resemble the Salisbury Crags near Edinburgh. Below one of the rocks, in a point well chosen for observing any approach, is a cave, rendered memorable for being some time the abode of the regi-

cides, Goffe and Whalley. The commissioners of Charles the Second made many fruitless attempts to seize them. Near the top of the rock is inscribed, " Opposition to tyrants is obedience to God." We had a most intelligent driver to convey us in a hackney coach to the places worth seeing in the neighbourhood. He volunteered to accompany us to the heights, tying his horses to a tree at the foot of the hills. Horses are certainly much better broken in this country, and more patient in enduring heat and the attacks of flies, than in Britain. When a traveller stops in the middle of his ride, the horse is either tied to a post without, or has a place within an open shed. Water is furnished to him, but nothing else, nor, however, much heated, is he rubbed down or cleaned. Our driver described every place within our view, and was quite an enthusiastic admirer of his own town, and especially enlarged upon its salubrity. We questioned him upon that head, and found a ready answer, for he referred, with perfect correctness, as we afterwards found, to the bills of mortality here and at other towns, to show how great was the difference in favour of Newhaven.

The distance from Newhaven to New York, by land or by water, through Long Island Sound, is nearly the same, about ninety miles. Steam-boats pass daily. We preferred the steam-boat conveyance in a very comfortable vessel, in which we made the voyage in about ten hours. There is nothing remarkable in the shores of Long Island Sound, until the boat reaches within twenty miles of New York, when they become indent-

ed; from thence to New York the sound is very interesting, of various breadths, and in many places agitated by rapid currents and tides, which the power of steam has at last controlled. Hellgate, which is situated upon the sound, at the spot where the water is most of all agitated, is only a few miles from New York. The violence of the currents here has often occasioned serious accidents. An English frigate was lost during the war of the revolution. Now, however, a steam-boat of no more than ordinary power has no difficulty in prosecuting her voyage; but sailing vessels are often obliged to wait for a favourable time of the tide. From Hellgate to New York the river is narrow, and the city is approached very beautifully among smiling villas on each side of the river, and the numerous shipping in the part of the Sound between Long Island and New York.

At this period we were uncertain whether we should remain much longer in the United States; and, as much travelling by land during the heat of the summer must have proved disagreeable, I thought it advisable to make the neighbourhood of New York for some time our head quarters.

From thence a far greater number of steam-boat expeditions are practicable, than from any other city or place in the United States. Many hundred miles of river coasts are approached daily by the steam-vessels of New York,—nearly 400 miles on the sides of the Hudson alone. These advantages can be enjoyed in such endless variety nowhere else. An expedition to

any place on the banks of the sounds or rivers, within fifty miles of New York, may, in ordinary cases, be accomplished every day during summer; and the expence of going and returning in the evening will not exceed two or three shillings for the boat, and often, where there is competition, not more than half that sum.

We immediately set about obtaining a comfortable lodging-house in the neighbourhood of the city, and at length pitched our tent at Mount Vernon, about four miles from New York, on the east river or Long Island Sound, a good house in an airy situation, from the door of which a stage went to New York two or three times a-day. The house is placed upon the top of the bank, about fifty feet above the river; and the view of the river and of the gay sailing craft constantly passing, and tossed about by the eddies in every direction, is very interesting. The house in which we got rooms is kept by the stage-hirer, and is much resorted to in the afternoon by persons taking their evening ride or drive from New York; it being very much the custom to stop at such a house as this, and have a little spirits and water or lemonade. There was a course for trotting horses in an adjoining field, which tended to increase the number of people. We bargained from the beginning to have our meals in our own parlour, and had many pleasant walks for exercise in the neighbouring parts of the island of Manhattan, at times when they were free from the crowds of people who come out of the city in the evenings. During the summer months the great mass of the people of New York leave the

town in carriages, gigs, or on horseback, for an hour or two before sunset, which, at the longest day, is at half-past seven. They drive and ride very fast, and the number of carriages of all descriptions, on the various outlets of the city, especially towards the beautiful parts of the island, is such as I never saw but in London or its immediate vicinity. They seldom or never think of driving out a few miles without stopping to smoke a cigar, and having a small tumbler of spirits and water, or some such mixture, for which the price is from three halfpence to sixpence Sterling, according to the rank of the house, and the quality of the liquor.

The bustle, however, of this house is always over before or very soon after sunset, and we are not in the slightest degree subjected to noise or intrusion. The landlord told me of his having collected sixty dollars in threepences Sterling, one evening since we came here, but even on that evening the business was over before sunset, and not a straggler remaining half an hour afterwards. Near as we are to New York, and within 300 yards of the high road, there is neither a shutter nor a bar to a window in the house. Clothes are laid out to bleach all night without the slightest fear of their being carried off.

CHAPTER XVI.

Journey to Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington—To Philadelphia by Steam-Boat and Stage—Arrangement as to Stages—Market and Market-Place of Philadelphia—Cleanness of the City—United States Bank—Girard's Bank—State-House—Philadelphia Water-Works—Miss Wright's Lectures—Rejoicings at Philadelphia on the News of the Emancipation of the Irish Catholics—Charles Carroll—Naval Yard, Philadelphia—Description of the "Pennsylvania" Ship of War—American Naval Tactics—Commodore Bainbridge—His civility—American Naval Officers—Captain Hall's Character of them—Progress of their Navy—Commodore Decatur's Letter—Opinion of the British Navy by the Americans—Mr Noah's Account of his Capture by our Fleet—Sir Philip Durham's reception of him—Correctness of Narration recommended to Journalists—Washington Irving's Opinion of English Publications on the Subject of America—Joseph Buonaparte's House and Grounds—General Washington's surprise of the British Forces there and at Princeton—From Philadelphia by Steam-Boat and Stage—The "Independence" Steam-Boat—Bay and Harbour of Baltimore—City Hotel—Arrangements of the Hotel—Washington's Monument—British invasion of Baltimore—Loss of the Inhabitants—Monument to their Memory—Churches at Baltimore—Roman Catholic Cathedral—Mercantile Classes—Public Works—Chesapeake and Ohio Canal—Railway from Baltimore to the Ohio—From Baltimore to Washington by the Stage—Entrance to the City—Capital—Chamber of Representatives—Senate—Supreme Court—Devastation at Washington by the British now repaired—Mount Vernon—Bridge over the Potomac—Details of Mount Vernon—From Washington to Annapolis—State-

House—Hotel at Philadelphia—Use of Tobacco—Mansion-House Hotel—Mr Head.

May 1829.

BEING uncertain at this time whether I should remain much longer in this country, I resolved to make a rapid trip to Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, that I might make sure of having a peep of the seat of government, and of the most populous part of the country, before I quitted it. Accordingly, on the 2d May, I set off for Philadelphia, distant about ninety-four miles from New York, all by steam-boat, except about twenty-seven or twenty-eight miles by stage, from New Brunswick to Trenton, in New Jersey. The part of this journey by steam-boat is very pleasant —the boats are good—and the scenery diversified,—but the road across New Jersey is very indifferent, and the general appearance of the soil of inferior quality. The arrangement for the stages on leaving the steam-boat is very well managed in this way. Supposing that there were fifty-four passengers in the boat going to Philadelphia, the captain or the clerk assembles them on board, and he gives each a ticket for a particular stage, numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. Nine passengers are allowed to each stage, so that six stages are necessary for fifty-four persons. The captain or clerk makes the arrangement at pleasure, unless there are parties of persons who wish to be together in the same stage. In case there are, he makes the arrangement to suit the passengers. As soon as this arrangement is made, and the passengers have got their tickets, they see their

baggage marked with chalk, according to the number of the stage in which they are to travel. The whole baggage belonging to No. 1 is allotted to one porter, who has it carried to the stage No. 1, and so on, so that when the boat stops, the passengers are perfectly ready to take their places in the stage to which they are allotted, and, before they are all seated, the baggage is removed, and the stage is ready to drive off. Twenty or thirty stages are sometimes required to convey the whole passengers when they are very numerous. The arrangement, however, is made with equal facility, as the contractors are bound to carry the passengers from place to place within a fixed period, and keep an immense establishment. The passage-money from New York to Philadelphia is at present four dollars, besides the expence of the two meals, which cost half a dollar each. In the steam-boat on the Delaware, we had the sweet-potatoe, very mealy, and very good, which does not thrive well much farther north than Philadelphia. It is raised in great perfection in Virginia. The market of Philadelphia is reckoned the most abundant in the United States, and is remarkable both for the variety and excellence of provisions. The market-place is a covered building in the middle of Market Street, and is of great length. There is nothing handsome about the building, but it is of considerable antiquity. It is said that more animal food, in relation to the number of inhabitants, is consumed in Philadelphia than in any other city in the world. The general practice there, and through-

out the United States, is to partake of animal food three times a-day.

On reaching Philadelphia, I found the vegetation much farther advanced than in the neighbourhood of New York,—the peach tree in blossom. There is a great air of neatness, and of almost peculiar cleanness, about the city itself; but the extreme regularity of the streets is tiresome. The steps of the outer stairs of a great part of the houses are of white marble, and the tops of the outer railings of brass, and both, as well as the windows, are not only cleaned every morning, but made bright with a degree of care which I never before witnessed. The streets are very generally shaded with trees,—a very desirable luxury in this hot climate.

The United States Bank is of beautiful marble, a plain Grecian building, with an imitation of the portico of the Parthenon, which is frequently adopted in the public buildings lately erected in the United States. Mr Girard's Bank is also an imposing structure; but the State-House, from whence the declaration of independence in 1776 was promulgated, is the most interesting building in this city. It is abundantly plain, and is situated in Chesnut Street, which is the fashionable street of Philadelphia, and is surmounted by a small cupola, in which there is a clock illuminated at night. The suburbs of the city towards the Schuylkill river are very beautiful, and the number of handsome villas is great.

The works for supplying Philadelphia with water, close to the city on the Schuylkill, are extensive, and

well executed. They stand on a part of the river where the scenery is peculiarly interesting; and the buildings which were found necessary in the prosecution of the undertaking are handsome and well constructed. No stranger should visit Philadelphia without seeing the water-works. The river in the neighbourhood of the works is about 900 feet wide, and between twenty and thirty feet deep. It is contracted by a mound dam, the construction of which was a work of great difficulty, its length being upwards of 270 feet, backing the water up the river about six miles. Eight water wheels are used to raise the water into the reservoir, forty gallons on the wheel raising one into the reservoir, and the quantity raised is about eleven millions of gallons per day. The whole expence incurred has been about 600,000 dollars.

The celebrated Miss Wright was delivering lectures in the Walnut Street Theatre at Philadelphia when I was there. She is at present engaged with Mr Owen Junior, at New York, in editing a weekly paper called the Free Inquirer, the chief object of which is to disprove the truths of Christianity. She had come to Philadelphia for a few days to repeat the lectures which she had been delivering at New York. The Theatre in Walnut Street contains about as many persons as the minor theatres in London, or the Edinburgh Theatre. The house was well filled with both sexes, and no mark of approbation or disapprobation was given at any time.

Miss Wright seemed to me to be between forty and

forty-five years old. There is nothing remarkable in her figure, except that she is very tall, but there is considerable interest excited when she addresses the audience. She has an artless and persuasive style of speaking, sometimes emphatic, and even eloquent. She seemed to have her lectures written out, and in her hand, but seldom, if ever, referred to the manuscript.

When the curtain was drawn up the stage was occupied by her, and by about half a dozen persons, who had rather the appearance of being trades-people than in her own situation in life. Miss Wright's chief aim seemed to be to persuade her hearers, that, instead of employing the first day of the week in the services of the Christian religion, and spending, as she alleges, twenty millions of dollars a year in provisions for the preachers of that religion, and in building churches, they should devote their time and their money in endeavours to discover every thing in the bosom of nature. "Take for your teacher (she said emphatically) experimental philosophers,—convert your churches into halls of science,—and devote your leisure day to the study of your own bodies and the examination of the fair material world." She told her audience in the outset, that she staked her fame and fortune on the cause of human improvement, and was devoting her talents to the promotion of knowledge, and would speak what she believed. She was aware, however, that her opinions must lead her to combat prejudices of the most delicate nature, and entreated them during the lectures to ab-

stain from all manifestation of sentiment, which could not fail of hurting the feelings of some part of the audience. They seemed to take this hint in good part, for no visible signs of approbation or disapprobation, excepting, perhaps, when she made use of the expression, "convert your temples into halls of science," when I observed in the people about me a look of surprise, which might very easily have been converted into an unequivocal expression of displeasure. It did not appear to me that there was much originality in the matter of Miss Wright's lectures. The arguments which she adduced are all, I believe, to be found in the works of the sceptical and deistical writers, Voltaire, Hume, &c. But it is but fair to give an extract from one of her published addresses, that the reader may form an opinion for himself:—

"I have said, to study ourselves. Oh, my fellow-beings, what a study is here! what a field of discovery! —what a world unexplored is that of our own being! What truths yet unperceived!—what duties unexercised!—what faculties unimproved!—what delights unenjoyed are in the nature,—the neglected, the slandered, the perverted, the outraged nature of man!

"Let not bold inquiry apprehend, that the field of human knowledge is confined in its horizon, and uninteresting in its details. While every path is rich with treasures, and rich with novelty, there is one,—and that the noblest and the fairest,—on which the restless mind of man hath barely thrown a glance.

"The master science,—the centre path, and fairest

avenue in the field of knowledge, and from which, and into which, all others, if rightly followed, would be found to branch and converge,—the science of human life remains to this hour in its infancy. We have dived into the secrets of external nature;—we have pierced the blue ether, and tracked the courses and revolutions of its planets, its systems, its comets, and its universe of suns;—we have laid bare the bowels of the earth, disclosed their hidden treasures, and brought to light the past phenomena of primeval worlds;—we have passed over our globe, and explored its realms and climates through the scorching tropics, to the icy barrier of the poles;—we have torn the lightning from the clouds, and jewels from the depths of the ocean;—we have bowed the elements to our will, and, appropriating and guiding their strength, have achieved more than the fabled exploits of demi-gods, or the miracles of prophets and saints;—we have, in truth, in ingenuity proved ourselves magicians, in power all but gods;—yet is our knowledge only ignorance, and our wisdom that of babes, seeing, that, while exploring the universe, we have left unexplored the human heart, and, while mastering the earth, we have still to master ourselves.

"Oh let us not fear, that within the atmosphere of our own world,—in the powers and wants of our own nature,—and in the woes of human life, as originating in human error,—that we may not find a field of inquiry more than sufficient to fill our time, enchain our thoughts, and call into action every latent faculty and feeling of our nature.

"Let, then, morals, or the science of human life, assume, among a people boasting themselves free, (and free, rightly interpreted, would mean rational,) the place of religion. Let us, instead of speculating and disputing where we can discover nothing, observe and inquire where we can discover every thing."

While I was at Philadelphia, the news arrived there of the royal assent being given to the Catholic emancipation bill. Great rejoicings took place. The mayor ordered the bells, especially the great old bell which first proclaimed the independence of the United States in 1776, to be tolled, and to ring during a whole day. Public rejoicings on this occasion took place in all the towns of the United States, especially at New York and Baltimore. Contributions had been sent to the subscription in Ireland for forwarding Catholic emancipation, from the United States, especially from Maryland, a considerable part of the population of which consists of Roman Catholics. Lord Baltimore, the founder of that colony, with many of his followers, were Catholics. The gentleman at present at the head of that body is Charles Carroll, the only survivor of those who signed the declaration of independence, a man of great respectability of character, of immense wealth, and the grandfather of the present Marchioness Wellesley. It was at his expence chiefly that the Roman Catholic cathedral at Baltimore was built. The number of Catholics in the United States is at present calculated at half a million. Some persons make the number greater by 200,000 or 300,000.

There is now constructing at the naval yard, Philadelphia, the largest, or about the largest, ship of war that has ever been built. Ship-building in this country is carried on in large wooden houses. This ship, which is called the Pennsylvania, will carry 200 guns. Her complement of men is 1400. The forty-two pounders for her are in the yard. Her best anchor weighs 10,171 pounds. She is 220 feet long by 58 broad. There are thirty-four beams on each deck, the main beams of yellow pine, two feet by one in depth. Some of the beams are of live-oak. She has five entire decks, spar, orlop, and three gun-decks.

On the spar deck she has -	44 ports.
On the upper gun deck -	44
On the second ditto. -	42
On the lower ditto. -	32
	162
Deduct for stern and bridle ports,	22
Remain,	140

In many conversations which I have had with American naval officers, they attributed their success in the late war,—how truly I cannot tell,—chiefly to their expertness and celerity in firing their guns. They often, they say, fired three times while we fired twice, and they consider themselves to take a surer aim. They also say that we fire when the ship is ascending on the wave, and not when she is descending, as they do, when they can take a better aim. The discipline on board their ships is allowed on all hands to be most strictly maintained,—and they insist that, at the time of the

short war with them, the discipline in British ships had become somewhat relaxed, from our having had no naval enemy at all equal to cope with us for many years previously.

Commodore Bainbridge, who, when in command of an American frigate, took the Java frigate from the British, commands the naval yard at Philadelphia. I went to the door of the yard in a hack. At the very moment when I was applying to the centinel for admission, Commodore Bainbridge passed. Coming out of the yard, he discovered, from my language, that I was a foreigner,—and knowing that, according to the general rule of excluding strangers at the dinner hour, the centinel would not allow me to be admitted at that time, he, after passing forty yards from the door, called the centinel, and desired him to admit me, because he perceived that I was a foreigner.

I had many opportunities, both before and after I was at Philadelphia on this occasion, of becoming acquainted with various naval officers of all grades in the service of the United States; and if I were to form a judgment of those whom I have seen, I should pronounce them as well-informed and as gentlemanly a class of men as there is in this country. Captain Hall, an authority worthy of being referrrd to on such a subject, has given them the highest character for the discipline maintained in their ships, and generally for their skill as seamen. The British ought never to underrate them as a naval enemy. The government of the United States is proceeding steadily in the establishment of a

navy, and the service is extremely popular with all descriptions of people.

The Americans, as it appeared to me, on all occasions, do justice to the prowess of the British, and to their naval superiority; but they allege, that, even in the short war with them, instances had occurred where it was obvious that the discipline of the British ships had been in a relaxed state, owing, on particular occasions, to some of the appointments of the captains having taken place, in consequence of their being possessed of political influence rather than merit. One instance where this happened, where the appointment was bestowed in consequence of borough influence, and was followed by the most disastrous consequences, is as well known in America as in England. A late American writer, who was consul from the United States to the kingdom of Tunis, has given a very graphic, as well as good-humoured, account of his capture by our fleet off Rochefort, in which he does not fail to bestow just commendation on our naval officers, and on their general arrangements. Sir Thomas Staines, of the Briton frigate, captured the ship on board of which this gentleman, Mr Noah, was a passenger; and next day Sir Thomas said to him, "The admiral wishes to see and converse with you,—you can see his list of prizes, and then value, as he is particular in keeping a register."—"We got into the boat," (proceeds Mr Noah,) "and shortly found ourselves on board the Bulwark, seventy-four, commanded by Captain Worth, and bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Durham. The admiral received us very courteously, and made several inquiries as to our voy-

age, news in America, and prospects of the duration of the war; and, as was anticipated, he showed us a list of American vessels captured within one year, the value of which, according to his computation, exceeded L. 800,000 Sterling, an amount that I could not conceive would have been hazarded on the coast of France. 'Your merchants,' he observed, 'have too much enterprise for the prosperous issue of their expeditions; they calculate erroneously, that if one vessel arrives safe out of three, that they will be no losers.'—'If even,' said he, 'this was the case, it is impossible that the aggregate profits of the one will cover the loss of the two. But it must be known, that, in the aggregate, one vessel out of three does not arrive. However,' said he, with a smile, 'I like enterprise; and if your insurance companies do not complain, they will never hear any objections on my part.' He assured us, in conveying an idea of the profits incident to his command, that his share of the prizes would not fall short of L. 10,000; 'and under such circumstances, I have no objection to the continuance of the war.' The admiral then invited us to visit the ship; gave orders to have the armoury, carpenters' and other rooms lit up, while he politely accompanied us through every part, and explained the various facilities and peculiar advantages of each department. The ship was in elegant order; the armoury displayed every species of warlike weapons, arranged with taste and fancy, and in the highest state of preservation. The carpenters' and riggers' department were equally worthy of observation, and everything, in short, indicated convenience

and comfort, and an organization which we could hardly believe a vessel of war capable of sustaining. The admiral, on our departure, invited us to return to dinner, saying, with much frankness and hospitality, ' I'll have the grange thrown out, and catch you some French turbot.' At four o'clock, we were conveyed to the Bulwark, and found several captains and officers, to whom we were separately introduced. ' We have caught the turbot for you,' said the Admiral, ' and, with a good glass of claret, you may, if you please, imagine yourselves in France,—a meagre substitute for the reality. We supply ourselves with French wine,' said he, ' from the *chasse marees*, which are small coasters, generally laden with wine; and those not worth sending in when captured, we let go, after replenishing our stock.' The conversation at dinner was sprightly, and on general subjects. I discovered that most of the officers were experienced men, and were familiar with important national, as well as political subjects, which were handled with delicacy and address. No reference at any time was had to the war, and no remark, even remotely made, served to indicate to us our situation. While partaking of a choice dessert, which, on board of a vessel having no connection with the shore, appeared rather singular, a young midshipman entered the cabin, and handed the admiral a folded paper, which, after reading, he smiled and reached to me, saying, ' Will you have a bill of the play,'—and I read, with no small surprise, the following written bill :—' This evening, by permission of Rear-Admiral Durham, will be performed, on board His Majesty's ship Bulwark, a celebrated

play, in five acts, written by John O'Keefe, Esq. called Wild Oats, or the Strolling Gentleman. After the play, a hornpipe will be danced. The whole to conclude with Foote's afterpiece of the Mayor of Garrat. Performance to begin at half-past seven o'clock. —*Vivant Rex et Regina.*'

" ' There, Sir,' said the Admiral, ' what do you think of that ?—shall we patronize the drama ?' —' By all means,' said I,—' there is no reason why Neptune should not be dramatized; but of all arts, the histrionic art is the last, I should think, could be perfected at sea.'—' Don't think so,' said the Admiral, ' we have as excellent a company of comedians as any ship in the fleet, and I'll warrant you'll say so.' A boy announced that the play was ready, and we arose to visit this nautical theatre. On the gun-deck, some fifteen paces from the officers' ward-room, we found it fitted up with a neatness as well as ornament that was really surprising. Scenery, drop-curtains, stage-doors with knockers, foot-lights, and all the paraphernalia necessary to a well-organized and well-governed stage. A full band of music was stationed on the right, which, on our entrance, struck up God save the King. ' Sit down,' said the Admiral, politely,—' you have no occasion to stand up when God save the King is played, though we are accustomed to do it.' We did not avail ourselves of this delicate permission, but stood up until the air was concluded. We found, on seating ourselves, that the audience was numerous, and not alone composed of the officers and crew of our vessel, but

those belonging to other ships, who had been invited on the occasion. The play commenced, and was really sustained throughout with considerable force and spirit. The parts seemed to be well conceived and faithfully executed; and the character of John Dory received additional zest from its being personated by a genuine sailor, who gave it those nautical touches so familiar in real life. Every character was perfect, and the voice of the prompter unheard,—a lesson from which many theatres on *terra firma* might eminently improve. After the play, the band struck up a sprightly air, and the dancing commenced. The naval Terpischore was an interesting figure, tastefully dressed, and moving on the 'light fantastic toe' with much ease and agility. 'Don't stare so,' said the Admiral, 'it is a *real* woman, the wife of a foretop-man. We are compelled in a fleet to have a few women to wash and mend, &c.' The sight of a real woman, as the admiral called her, with an agreeable countenance, was refreshing after a long voyage; particularly as the female parts in Wild Oats were awkwardly sustained by men." It would be well for both countries, if American writers on England, and English writers on America, adhered to facts as strictly as Mr Noah has done. Those who are acquainted with Sir Philip Durham will not fail to recognize his peculiar manner, even in this sketch, which is given with the fidelity which all journalists should observe.

Washington Irving has truly observed, that "over no nation does the press hold a more absolute control

than over the people of America; for the universal education of the poorest classes makes every individual a reader. There is nothing published in England on the subject of our country, that does not circulate through every part of it. The prepossessions of the people are in favour of England." If the opinion of this accomplished writer required confirmation, I might add, that every thing I have seen in the United States convinces me of the correctness of Mr Irving's observation.

Joseph Buonaparte's house and grounds are situated on the banks of the Delaware, about thirty miles from Philadelphia. The house is a plain building; but the suite of rooms is good, and there are a few valuable pictures and busts by Canova. There are from the grounds rich views of the banks of the Delaware, which is here a good deal indented, and of the neighbouring woods; but too much money seemed to me to be expending on a place where there is so little variety of ground. No man can be more respected for quiet and gentlemanly deportment than the ex-king is. When he travels to Philadelphia, New York, and Saratoga springs, he lives quite unostentatiously at the public tables. Passengers are allowed freely to see his grounds. I met him in the middle of them superintending some workmen. From Borden town on the Delaware, in the close neighbourhood of Buonaparte's house, I proceeded to Trenton, on my way to New York, and remained there all night. Next day being Sunday, I went to church, where I heard a very good

sermon from a Congregational clergyman. I afterwards dined at the public table of the boarding-house where I lodged. The party was very small. None of the family at the boarding-house appeared, but one of the members of the House of Representatives for New Jersey, who happened to be in the house, sat at the head of the table. He asked a blessing before dinner. I mention this the rather, because it was the first time that I had heard a blessing asked at a public table in this country. There is a great wooden bridge near Trenton. Trenton is remarkable as the scene of a very gallant exploit of General Washington's, and which contributed powerfully at the time, in the commencement of the war of the American revolution, to alter the face of affairs.

After the evacuation of Boston by the British, the hostile armies had not met, until Sir William Howe took the command of the British forces, and first drove the Americans with great loss from Long Island, and then forced them to evacuate New York;—he afterwards followed them to the county of West Chester, where he gained considerable advantage in the battle of White Plains, a few miles from New Rochelle. At this period, the close of the year 1776, the situation of the American army was most discouraging; a large proportion of the troops had returned from service at the expiry of the term of their enlistment; and the small remains of the American army in Philadelphia were retreating before the enemy. In this situation, Washington having obtained information that the ad-

vanced party of the enemy, consisting of about 1500 Hessians, and British horse, was stationed at Trenton, crossed the Delaware in the night of the 25th December in boats, with 2400 men. He had nine miles to march, but he reached the village, about seven o'clock in the morning, with such promptitude and secrecy, that the enemy, finding themselves surrounded, threw down their arms and surrendered. The commanding officer was killed. Washington did not lose ten men. He recrossed the Delaware the same day, bringing off the cannon, small arms, standards, and baggage. This unlooked for success brought considerable reinforcements to the American army; which induced Washington again to cross the Delaware and face the enemy. It turned out, however, that the British army, under Lord Cornwallis, was far superior to the American army; and upon Lord Cornwallis's advancing to attack them, it required all the resources of Washington's mind to extricate him from his very critical position. He ordered a number of fires to be lighted in his camp, and leaving a sufficient number of men to keep them burning during the night, he made a rapid march by a circuitous route; and at nine o'clock next morning attacked three British regiments posted at Princeton, and routed them with the loss of 500 men. The daring successes of Washington filled the ranks of the American army, and forced the British army to quit the whole of New Jersey,—in the full occupation of which they would otherwise have been.

After staying a day or two at Philadelphia, I went

on to Baltimore,—travelling by steam-boat on the Delaware, by stages from the Delaware to the Chesapeake, and thence by steam-boats on the Chesapeake. The last part of our voyage was performed in the Independence; one of the finest steam-boats in the United States, of 360 tons, and 100 horse power. She performed her distance of seventy-five miles in five hours and eighteen minutes. I have never seen machinery better kept, or better arranged.

The crew consisted of twenty-five persons; and were all men of colour, excepting the captain, engineer, and fireman. The cost of the vessel was 75,000 dollars. She belongs to a company at Baltimore, who have already made above a million of dollars by steam navigation. We passed considerable iron works at Wilmington, in the State of Delaware;—one of the proprietors of which, a Quaker, travelled in the steam-boat with us, and told me that, though their original cost was only 25,000 dollars, they now yielded an annual revenue of 6600 dollars.

In the State of Delaware free schools are established on the same footing as at Boston. The passage-money from Philadelphia to Baltimore is four dollars and a half. The first part of the voyage, forty miles, is performed by the steam-boat from New York in three hours,—from six to nine o'clock. The road crossing the State of Delaware, though only sixteen miles, occupied us three hours,—till twelve; and the remainder of the way, seventy-five miles, was performed in the Independence steam-boat in five hours and eighteen minutes.

The bay and harbour of Baltimore, and the town itself, are all handsome. In point of population the town now exceeds every other city in the United States, excepting New York and Philadelphia, being rated at nearly 80,000 persons. It was only a village of 8000 inhabitants at the end of the revolutionary war.

The position of Baltimore on the Patapsco river, with the Potomac river on the one side, and the Susquehannah on the other, is nearer the centre of the United States than any of the other great cities, and was in many respects admirably chosen; and there are very handsome rising grounds behind the town. The great hotel called the City Hotel has been lately erected, and contains accommodation for about 250 people. It was well filled when I was at Baltimore. The party at dinner was very large; Mr Barnum, the landlord, a very portly figure, sitting at the top of his table, and doing the honours in the same manner that a private gentleman would do in his own house in the country. It would be considered quite as rude to make any appeal to him as to any private individual, if the dinner was not reckoned good by any party. The bar-keeper, or the waiters, are the only persons to whom any fault could be mentioned. The bed-chambers in this hotel are always locked unless when those who inhabit them are within, and the keys numbered, are hung up in the bar-room under the charge of the bar-keeper. The waiters here are very numerous, and are almost all persons of colour or Irish. The arrangements of the

house, considering its great size, appear to me very good; but the frequent use of tobacco renders it impossible to keep a house of public entertainment so clean as it should be.

The people of Baltimore are at present employed in erecting, in a fine situation close to the town, a noble monument to the memory of Washington, by far the finest in the United States. The structure resembles Trajan's Pillar. Its height is 160 feet from the ground; it stands on a base fifty feet square, and is surmounted by a circular pedestal, on which a statue of Washington, fifteen feet high, is to be placed. The ground on which the column rests is 100 feet high, so that the building, which is of white marble, rises 276 feet above the tide.

The inhabitants of Baltimore have not yet forgot our incursion under General Ross in the late war. All the inhabitants between the ages of eighteen and forty-five were called to fight at a day's notice, and were only a single day in the field, when a successful action on their part deprived the city of some of the principal inhabitants, and sent back many of them wounded. A monument commemorating the engagement, on which are inscribed the names of the sufferers, has been erected in one of the conspicuous streets close to the entrance of the great hotel. The people at Baltimore and in the neighbourhood give sad accounts of the excesses committed during the last war in this quarter, especially by our naval troops, under the command of Sir George Cockburn, who landed on various parts of the adjoining coasts, and acted in the most barbar-

ous manner towards the unarmed and female part of the population.

Some of the churches at Baltimore are very large and handsome, especially the Roman Catholic Cathedral and the Unitarian Church. At Baltimore the ladies are reckoned peculiarly handsome, and dress very smartly. I never saw an assemblage of handsomer women than in the Cathedral on a Sunday. The interior of that church is well fitted up, and there are a few good pictures: The organ is very fine.

The mercantile classes of Baltimore are considered enterprising and intelligent. Great public works are at present in progress. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, a stupendous work, will connect Baltimore market with a population of nearly 200,000 persons, the cultivators of above one hundred millions of acres of land, much of which is of the most productive soil in the world. The railway from Baltimore to the Ohio, part of which I saw, and to which the State liberally contributes, is another magnificent undertaking; it is 300 miles long, and the estimated expence five millions of dollars. The Baltimore clippers, a very fast sailing description of vessels, are well known. At Baltimore, the privateers, which so much annoyed our shipping during the war, were built,—and there, it is said, the South Americans and West Indians procure their piratical schooners, which sail like the wind.

The distance from Baltimore to Washington is about forty miles, over a not very good road, which I travelled in the stage. I was agreeably disappointed on get-

ting there. I had been told that I was to see a city in a ruinous-looking state, in consequence of the extensive plan of the city, little of which was completed. The ground not having been built upon so quickly as it was expected, houses had been erected in various streets, which were not likely to be filled up, and the whole effect was therefore, as I had heard, very bad. Although this is the case to a certain extent, the city is placed in so very fine a situation, and the Capitol is so truly an imposing building, both in itself and by its situation, that I have seldom been more pleased than with the first view of this the seat of legislature of the United States. The entrance to the city by the Pennsylvania avenue, which reaches from the Capitol to the president's house, among rows of poplar trees, and which is 160 feet wide, is magnificent,—and the hotel to which it leads, kept by Gadesby, is upon a scale quite equal with that of the public buildings devoted to the State. The Congress not being at present in session, I met with no interruption in my visit to the Capitol and its apartments. The Capitol is placed on an area of above twenty acres of ground, enclosed by an iron railing, and commands, by the sudden declivity of the ground on one side, a very charming view of the city and adjoining country, and of the river Potomac. The building is 352 feet in front, and the greatest height to the top is 145 feet. The chamber of representatives is semicircular, in the form of the ancient Grecian theatre. It is surrounded by twenty-four columns of variegated native marble, from the banks of the Potomac, which stand on a base

of free-stone, and support the magnificent dome. The seats for the members are conveniently disposed,—each member has his fixed place, a chair, and a small desk. The members, when speaking, generally stand in the space between the desks, which affords sufficient room. An engraved plan of the house, a copy of which is easily procured at the door, points out the name and place of each member, so that by referring to the plan every member is at once known.

The senate chamber is also semicircular, and a handsome room, though of smaller dimensions. The library is small, but it is a very convenient room for the purpose to which it is applied.

The supreme court of the United States holds its sittings in one of the apartments of the Capitol, and the committee rooms are conveniently arranged.

It is well known that, during the late war, in the year 1814, the British, under General Ross and Admiral Cockburn, committed great devastation at Washington. Congress were obliged to assemble for several years afterwards in a building erected for them by the citizens of Washington. All the mischief was, however, repaired, and the whole ground railed in with the accompanying terraces, gateways, and lodges, in the course of ten years. Every thing is now in the most complete state, and it is impossible to conceive a building more suitable in all respects to the views of its founders.

General Washington's favourite residence of Mount Vernon is situated on the opposite side of the Poto-

mac, at the distance of about fifteen miles from Washington. I found the best way to go to see it was in a hack (a hackney coach) from Washington, which I procured for three dollars and a-half; before, however, I had proceeded far from Washington, I had a demand of a dollar for crossing the great wooden bridge of above a mile long over the Potomac, and the same sum for recrossing it on my return. When La Fayette was in this country, a few years ago, he went to Mount Vernon, accompanied by the then president of the United States, Mr Adams. The toll-keeper, as usual, stopped the coach and received the toll-duty; but, hearing a moment afterwards that La Fayette was in the coach, he ran after it and repaid the money, declaring he could receive nothing from the guest of the nation.

I was very glad that I made this excursion to Mount Vernon. It is a delightful place, and interesting from the associations connected with it. I set off immediately after breakfast, at half-past eight o'clock, A. M., and had no difficulty in seeing every thing that was to be seen, and returning to a dinner considered very late here, at 6 o'clock P. M. I found no objection on the part of those entrusted with the charge of the hotel, in letting me have dinner on my return without any extra charge. The horses of the hack were never out of harness till I returned to Washington, and had nothing but water on their way. They were out with me nine hours.

The property of Mount Vernon, which belongs to General Washington's nephew, now deceased, (1832,)

who was one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, is of very considerable extent, about 10,000 acres, as I was told by the servants at the place. About five miles of the drive from Washington pass through wooded ground belonging to the property. The porter at one of the lodges, who is a man of colour, and very old, is the only one of General Washington's servants who now survives. The situation of the house, on a fine bank of land above the Potomac, and the elevation and undulation of the neighbouring ground are altogether very desirable, and afford great facilities for making Mount Vernon a magnificent place; but neither the house, nor the offices, nor the kitchen-garden, nor the flower-garden, nor the grounds generally, are in any thing like good order. In fact, the impression they made upon my mind was, that few, if any changes, except those wrought by the hand of time, had been attempted at Mount Vernon, since the days of General Washington; and if this happens, with a view that the place may retain, as long as possible, that interest, which arises from its having been the favourite residence of that distinguished man, it is all well.

The narrow path at the top of the bank above the river, begun by General Washington, when he was carried off by sudden illness, remains to the present day in its unfinished state. The burying-place where General Washington's remains are deposited, is quite unadorned, on the bank leading to the river, in front of the house. It is a plain subterraneous

vault, nearer to the Potomac than the mansion-house, and is overspread with red cedars. The house itself contains only what we should in Britain consider one good apartment. In the parlour, I observed engravings of Nidpath and Roslin Castles, and in the passage, one of the keys of the Bastile, which had been sent to General Washington by La Fayette.

General Washington was the eldest son, of the second marriage, of Augustine Washington, of Virginia, who was the grandson of John Washington, a gentleman of respectable family in the north of England, who emigrated about 1657, and became the proprietor of an extensive tract of land. Lawrence Washington, the eldest son of General Washington's father by his first marriage, left the estate of Mount Vernon to General Washington, who was born on the 22d February 1732, and died on the 11th December 1800.

In returning from Washington to Baltimore, I made a detour to Annapolis, the seat of the legislation of the State of Maryland. It is situated on the river Severn, a branch from the Chesapeake. The city is not large, but there is a fine State-house here, built, I believe, by the British before the revolution, from which there is a splendid view. There are many handsome houses and gardens in the vicinity. Much of that part of Virginia through which I passed in travelling by the stage, forty-five miles from Washington to Annapolis, has been deteriorated by being overcropped with tobacco. It is of a dry sandy soil. I hardly observed a white person working out of doors in that part of the coun-

try. Slaves do all the drudgery in Virginia and Maryland, and are in many places most obsequious. This was particularly the case at Williamson's Hotel at Annapolis. A daily steam-boat on the Chesapeake, is the conveyance from Annapolis to Baltimore, distant from each other about thirty miles.

On my way from New York to Baltimore, I lodged in a very good hotel at Philadelphia, and had I been known to the people in the house, I should certainly have returned to it in my way back, but for the smoking and chewing of tobacco, which never ceased in the reading-rooms. The chewing and spitting were carried to such a height, that it was difficult to escape from their effects. I, therefore, on my return, went to the Mansion-house, which is more free from the annoyance to which I have alluded, than any other hotel which I have seen in the United States, and which is in all respects superior to any other establishment of the same kind that I met with in America. The accommodation in the house itself is ample and excellent, and the attendance is good, and quite sufficient, and the table of a superior description. It is equal to that of a man of considerable fortune in England in the cookery, and the whole style of the thing. Mr Head, to whom this establishment belongs, is quite a gentleman in manners and education, and has been in Britain, and over the continent of Europe. The dinner is served in courses, and Mr Head makes a point that the arrangements shall be such, that it shall occupy an hour; but the haste of some of the American gentlemen to get away to

business again is so great, that, before the course of pastry and puddings is placed on the table, some of them always rise and take their departure. Everything is neat and clean, and well ordered. There is supper in this house at nine, as well as tea and coffee at seven. The charge at such a house as this is of course proportionally higher, being two dollars per day. I never saw asparagus finer than at this house, but it is a most abundant vegetable in this country, and very cheap.

CHAPTER XVII.

Excursion to Country in the neighbourhood of New York—Manners of the People—Exclusives—Wealth does not confer the same advantages as in Britain—Excursion to Staten Island—Details—Stage to New York—Steam-Boat to Staten Island—Bar-keeper's Room—Quarantine Ground—View from the Pavilion—Dr Westervelt—Dinner—Details—Drive through Staten Island—Mount Izard—Tarbarrell Hill—Captain Hall's Travels—Darby's View of the United States—Camp-Meeting in Long Island—Details—Objects of the Meeting—Religious Revivals—Opinions of Jonathan Edwards, Dr John Erskine, and Sir Henry Moncrieff—Lord Byron on Field Preaching—Rules of the Camp-Meeting—Oyster Bay—Long Island Shooting Ground—Babylon—Camp-Meeting of people of Colour—Pine Orchard House—Catskill—Barouche from Catskill—Manners of the People—Sunrise at Pine Orchard House—Kauterskill Falls—Scotch Driver—"North America" Steam-Boat—West Point Academy—Dr Hosack—Dr Mitchell—Hotel at West Point—Colonel Thayer—Details of the Academy—Duke of Saxe Weimar's account of it—Captain Hall's account of it—Sentiments expressed by him to Colonel Thayer—Colonel Thayer's Library—Monument to Kosciusko—Fort Putnam—Importance of this Post—Arnold's treacherous attempt to deliver it up—Long Branch, Sea-Bathing place—Newark—Orange Springs—Schooley's Mountain—View from Brooklyn Heights—From Hoboken—Colonel Stevens and Family—Blowing up of the Fulton Steam-Frigate—Anniversary of the 4th of July—Post-Office Establishment—Post-Office at New York—Scotch preferred to other Foreigners—Brown and Clark's Eating-House at New York—Captain Hall's mistake—Turtle and Venison—Eating-House

at the sign of Burns' Portrait—Book-Store at the sign-post of Blackstone's Portrait—Wilson's Nursery Ground—Kept by Scotch People —Thunder Storms — Conductors — Episcopal Chapel near Mount Vernon—Boarding-House near New Rochelle—Presbyterian Church —Mr Stebbings—Dr Smith—Carriages at the Church Doors.

May, June, July, August, and September 1829.

AFTER my return to Mount Vernon, near New York, I made various excursions to see those parts of the country in the vicinity of New York, which I was told were most worthy of notice.

Some account of these excursions will enable the reader, or future travellers, to acquire information respecting the neighbouring country, which may be of use to them, more especially respecting the manners of the people; but here let me remind those into whose hands these pages may fall, as to my views in writing them. They are not meant to furnish details necessary for those who wish to learn how the exclusive class in the great American cities, or the elite of the society at Washington, live. That there is a class of people in the great towns of the United States, and at the seat of Legislation, who are entitled to the appellation of Exclusives, I have no doubt; but it is well-known that this class, in most cases in all countries, resemble each other much more closely in their artificial way of living, and in their artificial manners, than to the other portions of society. The exclusive society of the United States, however, is far more trifling in number in relation to the population, than in any other country, and are, therefore, far less entitled to notice than in

other countries, as well as because they can only maintain their separation from the mass of the people to a very limited extent. In their own houses they may live as they please, dine at London hours, and associate only with such persons as they choose; but in travelling, and appearing at places of public resort, they can command no different sort of treatment, in any respect, from that which is given to every person who conducts himself with propriety, and has enough of money to pay his share of the requisite travelling expences.

I had abundant opportunities of satisfying myself of the truth of this observation. Wealth in the metropolis of the British empire, when properly employed, confers all advantages. It not only enables the possessor to procure all the luxuries of life, but it bestows a status in society which is not otherwise attainable, and which may lead even to the acquisition of rank. In the United States, rank, respect, and consideration are given to talent alone, and to high office, which can only be obtained by the display of talent and industry.

One of the first of the expeditions to which I have alluded took place early in June. I had the pleasure of being accompanied by an officer in the army of the United States, and by a friend who lived in the neighbourhood of Mount Vernon. I had got acquainted with both those gentlemen in the stage; and they proposed, with a view of obliging me, that I should join them in an excursion to Staten Island, in the Bay of New York, to which I readily agreed. We set out in the stage at eight A. M., on a charming morning after

breakfast. The fare is ninepence for each person in a long carriage, with four seats, containing two persons on each. The steam-boat to Staten Island runs from Whitehall Slip, the most southerly point of New York, adjoining the pleasure-ground called the Battery. On getting into the steamer, I was introduced to a middle-aged gentleman, Mr Symonson, who made himself very agreeable, and was obviously well-informed as to the localities of the island. We found many people in the boat going on a similar errand with ourselves, to pass the day, free from the cares of business, in the country, and had a good deal of conversation with our fellow-passengers; for I am bound to say, that, excepting at dinner, when the professional men of the United States generally show considerable anxiety to return to their business-pursuits without much loss of time, they are never indisposed for conversation with a stranger, and are always polite to him. I have never observed one instance of opposite conduct. The passage across the Bay was very pleasant, and the views of the city and adjoining coast clear. While we were enjoying the scene, one of my fellow-travellers reminded us, that we must not leave the boat without visiting the bar-room, where we should find every thing very nice. Thither we accordingly went. The bar and gentlemen's cabin contained a great variety of eatables and drinkables, such as Bologna sausages, hung-beef, biscuits, and all sorts of confectionary; with wines, spirits, oranges, lemons, limes, lemonade, and ice, which is always to be had in this country. My

companions partook of a sausage, and a little brandy and water, and sugar, mixed by the bar-keeper, in small tumblers. I had some lemonade. I found that the charge for these good things had been paid by one of my friends before I had thought of offering payment; but I took care to treat them at another of the places where we stopped in the course of the day for the same sort of refreshment; and this is, according to the general custom of the country, before as well as after breakfast, and at all times of the day. This custom, though general, is not, however, by any means universal in any class. I rather think that most medical men, at least in the cities, refrain from the practice, and that the majority of them, as well as of the exclusive class, set their faces against its continuance. We landed at the quarantine ground in about half an hour; and Mr Symonson having told us that dinner at his house was served punctually at one, I rightly conjectured that he was hotel-keeper of the house now in view, adjoining to the quarantine ground. We agreed to walk about before dinner, and immediately after dinner to have a barouche to carry us to the highest grounds in the island.

The shores of Staten Island are finely indented, and sprinkled with the white, clean-looking villas of this country. The island rises quickly to a considerable height, containing an area of about fifty-two square miles.

The quarantine establishment and the adjoining village are pictures of cleanness, all painted of a bright

white. The houses, hotels, &c. generally disjoined, and many of them inclosed in small gardens. The whole buildings are situated on a bank gently rising from the shore, and overhanging a beautiful bay below, in which there were some large ships, as well as a few of the elegant sailing craft, with which the Bay of New York is always adorned. Behind the village the ground becomes abrupt, to a point at which a building is erected called the Pavilion, expressly on account of the splendour of the view, the top of which is, I should think, nearly 250 feet above the sea, consisting of handsome saloons, with balconies, piazzas, &c. on all sides, and a look-out place from the summit, from which the prospect is most glorious. I have never been more delighted with any of the prospects of this description which have charmed me most, either on the Frith of Forth, the Clyde, the Bay of Dublin, or in the Isle of Wight. I cannot help doubting whether there is a more magnificent prospect in the world. All the features which it contains are beautiful, and many of them splendid. Then the moving ships, pilot-boats, and small craft, never allow the view of the water to be for two moments the same.

The view comprehends half a dozen of friths, dividing, by marked head-lands, tracts of well-wooded and waving country; and it embraces not only the city of New York, surrounded with a vast mass of shipping, but the city of New Jersey projected into the bay, quite as much as Burntisland is into the Frith of Forth, as well as the village of Newark. The cities lie too low,

but they serve to convince the beholder that he is in the heart of a densely-peopled country. Peninsulas, promontories, islands, isthmuses, land, in a variety of shapes, lie before him, and beyond all, the boundless Atlantic. New York, the magnificent Hudson, the Frith of Newark, and lands and hills of Jersey are on the north,—Long Island and its sound, the narrows, and the quarantine ground, with the Atlantic, on the east, and the coast of New Jersey, Rariton Bay, Sandihook, and the Atlantic, to the south;—the whole forming a noble prospect in the heart of as rich-looking a country as is in the world.

After enjoying the delights of this charming spot for some time, a hint was given, that a visit at the bar-room would be expected. I was lucky enough to procure some cherries. The rest of the party partook, as usual, of some spirits and water. The charge for each was threepence Sterling.

Finding that the dinner hour had not yet arrived, my friends proposed to me to accompany them to call on some of the officers of the quarantine establishment who were their acquaintances, which I accordingly did.

Dr Westervelt, the principal health officer, is a very intelligent person. He has a yearly allowance, as I was told, of 5000 dollars, besides a house charmingly situated, and garden. He introduced us to his family, and after our hats were taken from us, which is always done, even on making a short call in the forenoon here, a female servant appeared with a waiter containing white and red wine, cyder, and porter, and my friends

again partook of a little spirits and water. It must not be inferred, however, that they were persons addicted to the bottle; on the contrary, they were both perfectly sober men, not in the slightest degree given to excess—they merely took their liquor in small portions frequently, according to the general custom of the country. They, on the other hand, are surprised, and often shocked, when they find foreigners sitting for some hours at dinner, and partaking liberally, as we do, of wine, while eating and afterwards, according to what I consider our more convivial, and more agreeable habits, when not carried to excess. The heat of the day on which we visited Staten Island, was such as to lead our party to take liquor perhaps more frequently in the way practised here, than on most occasions, but I am sure, neither of my friends drunk as much as would, when put together, have amounted to nearly a bottle of wine. Dinner was on the table when we reached the hotel; it consisted of abundance and variety of roast meat, poultry, potatoes, peas, salad, lobsters, large and good, currant-pies and puddings. Soup and dressed dishes are generally excluded from ordinary dinners, and fish, though abundant, are not so much cared for as with us. Fish are more frequently produced at breakfast. There is a considerable variety of good fish, such as shad, bass, rock-fish, occasionally sheep's-head fish, and red trout, &c. on the Atlantic coast of the United States, but nothing to make up for the want of salmon, turbot, sole, and haddock. Lobsters are very large, and coarser than ours. Oysters

are abundant and large. Brandy was on the table a this dinner, and a little brandy, mixed with wate drunk by some of the party, consisting of about twent persons or more. Most of them, however, tasted n liquor but water. I called for beer, and got it ver good, which is always the case when it is to be had but this is not generally the case. It is stronger tha our beer, and more hopped. No one called for o tasted wine, although there were ladies at table, an the high-sheriff for the county, and the member fo Congress, happened to be present. Mr Symonson, wh was particularly attentive to me as a stranger, sat nea me at the side of the table. He probably would hav sat at the head of it, if he had been in the room whe the dinner commenced, but even in that case the land lord does little more than carve the joint before him In his absence the waiters generally carve. The guest are not always very willing to take this trouble, far ther than helping themselves, or any friend, to a dis placed near to them. The table was served by two o three men of colour, who seemed to understand thei business well. Cheese and cold butter are almost al ways put on the table with the tarts and puddings and the dinner is finished when that part of it which i called the dessert, consisting of tarts, cheese, &c. i over.

In the course of less than half an hour after we ha sat down to dinner, we were in one of Mr Symonson' barouches, a carriage holding five persons, he himsel accompanying us. We had a fine drive through th

most interesting parts of the island, the surface of which is much varied. We saw many comfortable-looking farm-houses, amidst rich valleys and lands, and orchards abounding in fruit; but what most surprised me in looking at the fruit, was the extraordinary quantity of cherry trees producing the small black and red cherry. In this ride, I saw a greater number of cherry trees, I am persuaded, than I had seen in the whole course of my life. The quantity of ripe cherries everywhere on the trees we passed was so great, that all seemed to partake of them as they chose. We drove the barouche below the trees on the road side, and pulled what we liked. Property in such fruit, as apples and cherries, is far less regarded than in Britain. Objections are seldom made to the public taking all they can get, without intruding on fenced land. No part of the wood in Staten Island, on Long Island, or within any inconsiderable distance from New York, is of great size, the British during their occupation of New York, in the revolutionary war, having cut down for fuel all the wood within their reach. We made one pause while driving through the island, at a hotel, where brandy and water and a pipe were the order of the day with my fellow-travellers.

The points from which we had the most extensive views in the course of our drive, were the top of Mount Izard, the highest in the island, and the top of Tarbarrell Hill, both of them nearly 400 feet in height. There is a single hiccory tree on the top of Mount Izard, from which the prospect is far more ex-

tensive than at the Pavilion, commanding a considera ble part of the view from thence, the unbroken pros pect to the westward of Staten Island Sound, Elizabet Town, and a greater reach of the Atlantic. From th top of Tarbarrell Hill, too, which is immediatel above the Pavilion, the prospect resembles a panoram much more than on the lower ground at the Pavilion but the combination of objects at the Pavilion gave m more pleasure than on the higher grounds, and th fore ground at the Pavilion is far more beautiful.

We returned to our steamer at six o'clock, afte taking leave of Mr Symonson, whom we never shoul have discovered to be a hotel-keeper from anything that passed, except, perhaps, from his seeing that th waiters attended particularly to me. His father ha a fine property in the island, and a nice house, whic we passed while we were taking our airing in the ba rouche. The evening was fine, and tempted us t walk a considerable part of the way home. The brandy and water was given up for soda-water, iced from the fountain, at one place, and lemonade, or ra ther limeade, at another. The quantity of soda-wate used by all classes at this season is beyond belief, gene rally mixed with a little lemon syrup.

The price of limes here at present is fifteenpence Sterling per hundred.

The whole expence of this little excursion, amount ed, inclusive of dinner, barouche, steam-boat, brandy and water, soda-water, and stage, to seven shilling and threepence Sterling for each of us. The steam

boat fare to Staten Island, five miles from New York, is sixpence Sterling. To Albany, 150 miles distant, it is a dollar. Such is the effect of unlimited competition. One thousand passengers went to Albany in the North America steamer one day lately. One of the companies to whom the steamers belong, at a late public auction, agreed to pay 3650 dollars for a year's use of one of the wharfs at New York, only affording accommodation for two steam-boats at a time. Real property of all kinds at New York brings great prices. The site of a house at the corner of two central streets, twenty-nine feet in one street, and 130 in another, was lately sold for 38,100 dollars.

The light from the fire-flies was most brilliant in the evening I have mentioned, and almost illuminated our way home. The fire-flies, the numerous small squirrels, and the catydids, remind us that we are in a foreign climate. Snakes, too, are occasionally seen, but not of a dangerous kind,—at least the people here seem to have very little fear of them.

I have hitherto seen nothing in this country to be compared to the prospect which I have endeavoured to describe from the Pavilion at Staten Island. There are finer views of New York itself from the opposite shores of New Jersey, on the one side, and from Brooklyn, and the heights of Long Island, on the other; but Staten Island is unquestionably the place for seeing New York in combination with its noble harbour, and the surrounding seas and the shipping which adorn them. After I had once found my way under the

guidance of my friends to the Pavilion, I frequent bent my steps to it when I had leisure, to spend an ho or two in the island, and never returned without bei equally delighted with the scenery above the quarantı ground. Strange it is, but not less strange than tru that I have never observed in any of the published tou relative to the United States, the slightest referen made to the beauties of Staten Island, or to the pro pect from the Pavilion. Captain Hall's Travels we brought me while I was writing the notes of this ve excursion; but it does not appear from them that he h ever visited this island, though only five miles fro New York, where he resided for a considerable perio At a subsequent period, I procured at Philadelphia M Darby, the geographer's, valuable view of the Unit States, and was glad to find that he recommended St ten Island as possessing the most variegated landscap on the Atlantic coast of the United States. "No tr veller ought (he writes,) to neglect it. In a clear da a single hour on some of the hills of Staten Island worth a voyage of considerable extent. How ma who visit New York with all the means of gratificatio and who travel for mere amusement, lose the invaluab pleasure of scanning the rich perspective from Stat Island? Thousands and tens of thousands."

Some time after my expedition to Staten Island, advertisement of a Camp-meeting, to be held at Mu quito Cove, on Long Island Sound, came in my wa I expressed to the hotel-keeper at Mount Vernon wish to be present, and he, and one of my friends w

had accompanied me to Staten Island, very good humouredly agreed to make a party to Long Island for a day. We hired a barouche, which is to be had at New York for four dollars a-day,—then crossing by the steamboat ferry to Long Island, and breakfasting at the village of Flushing, where are situated Mr Prince's long established nursery grounds, we reached that part of Musquito Cove where we understood the meeting was to be held, at about twelve o'clock. The meeting was held within a forest or wood, where a sufficient number of trees had been cut to make such an opening as was required. The morning service was concluded some time before we arrived. From the high grounds, the view of the bay, of the shipping, and of the assembled multitudes, with their carriages and horses, was very striking. A great many of the people were straggling in the adjoining fields during the interval of the service. The shipping, all of which had been employed in bringing persons from a considerable distance to join the meeting, consisted of five steam-boats, about sixty sloops and schooners, besides open boats. The number of horses and carriages was proportionably great. It was calculated that there were about 12,000 persons on the ground,—certainly not less than 9000 or 10,000.

There seemed to be about a dozen of clergymen, all belonging to the Methodist persuasion, in a large covered and elevated platform.

Benches were provided for the congregation, placed on the vacant or open space in front of the platform. The males were on the one side of the benches and the

females on the other. There were benches for a gre
part of the assembled multitude, and the benches wer
surrounded on all sides by a close body of those wh
had only standing room. When the afternoon servic
commenced, the effect of this prodigious assemblage
people, all standing, lifting up their voices, and joinin
in praise to their Creator, was more sublime than thos
who have not witnessed such a scene can well imagin
The sermon, which was afterwards delivered, lasted fo
an hour, and was distinctly heard all over the ground
for the most perfect order and silence prevailed. Th
clergyman preached from the 29th verse of the 10t
chapter of the book of Numbers: "We are journeyin
unto the place of which the Lord said, I will give i
you: come thou with us, and we will do thee good; fo
the Lord hath spoken good concerning Israel." Th
discourse seemed to me altogether faultless, and th
address at the end was most remarkably impressive
The speaker, in the conclusion, alluded to the sect o
Christians to which he belonged, the Methodists; bu
he meant, he added, to say "nought against other de-
nominations of Christians who did good." After ser-
mon, prayer, all kneeling, succeeded. Then a hymn
was sung, and another clergyman, a very old man, com-
ing to the edge of the platform, said that a friend whom
they had never heard before was about to address them.
Another clergyman, an aged person, then stepped for-
ward, to enforce, as he said, the invitation in the text,
which he did very shortly, and very skilfully, particu-
larly, and with great earnestness, exhorting those mem-

bers who had lately been added to their church, to communicate to their brothers, sisters, and friends, some idea of the happiness which they now enjoyed, that they might be induced to follow their example, and accept the invitation, by joining the church, even before the meeting was over.

The afternoon service was concluded as usual, with singing and prayer, and the most perfect decorum prevailed. The service continued for about two hours and a-half.

I understood that this meeting was to last for about four days. Many people came from a distance of one hundred miles and upwards. The great objects of holding such meetings in this part of the country, are to afford opportunities to persons whose situation, such as that of servants, prevents them from attending worship regularly on Sunday, of being present on the occasion, when they are almost always indulged, and allowed to avail themselves of it; and to keep people who have not yet turned their minds to religious subjects, together for such a time, that their attention must be arrested. It is conceived that extraordinary efforts ought frequently to be made by all those ministers of Christ who are faithful, and do not neglect their duty. Such of the clergy as approve of the observance of numerous days for prayer meetings, and of such assemblages as this, ascribe the want of revivals, by which I merely understand the addition of any considerable number of converts at one time to any church, to the languor of the minister, and to his making no further exertion than

custom has established as a standard. They maintain, that where the minister contents himself with preaching once or twice on the Sabbath, performing the professional duties required of him, and nothing more, without questioning himself whether any thing more be required of him by the precepts of the religion he professes, the church becomes relaxed in discipline,—and that the absence of any thing like a revival in such circumstances, shows that those who believe in the Gospel of Christ must perform more ministerial and Christian duties, and must shew more earnestness. I had a very different notion of what was meant by a revival of religion in the United States, both from what I had previously heard, and from what I had been told since I was in this country, by persons who consider every clergyman to be weak, and eccentric, and an enthusiast, who deviates from the ordinary routine of ministerial operation, or who shows the sincerity of his belief by using all the means in his power to obtain converts to that religion which he professes to believe.

The United States being free from any religious establishment, every one is not only tolerated in the exercise of the religion he believes, but is at full liberty, without the fear, except in very few and very peculiar cases, of his temporal concerns being at all affected by his religious profession, (whatever it may be,) to embrace those religious doctrines which he conceives on due consideration are true. It follows from this state of things, that there is much less hypocrisy in the professors of religion in this than in other countries. Those

in this country, who voluntarily go to a Protestant church, and who voluntarily pay for the ministration of a Christian clergyman, may be generally, (I do not mean to say universally,) held to have made the necessary examination, and to be real believers of the doctrines of the Christian religion;—whereas those from other countries, who have travelled in the United States, and who have put forth sneering and ill founded statements on the subject of revivals, camp-meetings, &c. are generally Christians professing that religion, merely because their parents did so, or because Christianity is the religion of their country, and not because they ever investigated its truth. I found at Northampton a short narrative of a revival in a Presbyterian church at Baltimore, written in a plain unsophisticated style by Mr Walton, the clergyman of that church, which I would recommend to the attention of some late English writers, who, in perfect ignorance, as it appears to me, treat the religious meetings and the revivals in the United States in a contemptuous manner, and as if they were approved and attended by no one of sane mind. Mr Walton describes himself as having been for many years a clergyman, who thought that, by preaching the gospel at the usual times, he was doing all that was required of him, and that he ought to leave the rest to the Divine influence; adding, that, upon being called to a different sphere of labour, he had an increasing desire to be useful. He redoubled his exertions; he appointed prayer meetings, not only public, but private, from house to house, and engaged the assistance

of all, who were members of the church, to impress upon the young people the necessity of their examining the doctrines of the Christian religion, and, professing them, if they believed them to be true. The result was the addition of between eighty and ninety communicants to his church in the space of a few months. And this is precisely what is called a revival in the United States, and what was formerly, and what very probably now is, among certain classes of Christians, called a revival in Great Britain. A revival then happens as often as any clergyman is led to make greater exertions than are usual, either by himself, or by exciting his flock, or by their united exertions; and when the consequence of their labour is, that a greater number of persons than usual is added to the church. Is their anything irrational in this? Quite the contrary. This is not the place for attempting to prove or to disprove the truth of the Christian religion. What I maintain is this, and nothing more than this, that all persons, whether clergymen or laymen, should show their belief in the religion, whether Mahometan, Roman Catholic, or Protestant, which they profess, by obeying its precepts and doctrines; and more especially, that clergymen, who set themselves apart to the work of the ministry, should be zealous in promoting the doctrines of the religion they have embraced. Those who do not so act show themselves the vilest of all hypocrites. If they are clergymen, professing the Christian religion, it is well known to all those acquainted with the doctrines of the Bible, that no duty is more strictly

enjoined than that the teachers of the word should preach it to the world,—should be instrumental in saving all the souls they can. They are bound to make the utmost exertions that it is possible for them to make, in order to produce in others the same belief which they entertain. We have teachers of philosophy, and of every branch of science, and applaud and honour those who show the greatest earnestness and talent in explaining and enforcing those doctrines which they themselves believe. Why should equal earnestness and sincerity not be expected from those who undertake to teach and explain the doctrines of the Christian religion?

Upon this subject of revivals, on which so much nonsense has lately been written, there is abundance of sound authorities in the United States, as well as in Britain, which may be referred to with advantage.

For example, Jonathan Edwards, a man equally distinguished as a profound divine, and an acute philosopher, the president of the College of New Jersey, has published, so long ago as the middle of the last century, accounts of remarkable conversions at Northampton, in Massachusetts, *attended by symptoms of bodily agitation.* Dr John Erskine of Edinburgh, about the same period or rather later, was the writer of a pamphlet relative to revivals at Cambuslang, and other places in the west of Scotland, attended with remarkable mental and bodily agitations, the truth of which is attested by the evidence of men of the strictest truth, and greatest respectability of character. At the period when the fa-

mous Mr Whitfield visited Scotland, the multitudes that assembled often in the open air were more numerous than they had ever been, or perhaps, than any congregation which had ever been before collected in Scotland. The religious impressions made on the people were much greater, and more general, and the *visible convulsive agitations* which accompanied them exceeded every thing of the kind which had yet been observed. This is stated in Sir Henry Moncrieff's Life of Doctor Erskine. Sir Henry Moncrieff, than whom no man had less claim to the character of an enthusiast, a person too of sound judgment and great eminence, and a zealous clergyman, declares in his life of Dr Erskine, that no events can be more satisfactorily attested, as unquestionable facts, than those in the west of Scotland, to which allusion has now been made, adding the following very pertinent and interesting observations: "It must not be forgotten, that the number was very considerable of those who dated their first and best impressions of religion from this time, and who were afterwards distinguished by a visible and unquestionable reformation of manners; of which few examples of the same extent can be produced in modern times. Even some of those who have done their utmost to decry the converts of Cambuslang, and to diminish their number, are obliged to admit that they might amount *to some hundreds;* and others, who appear to have honestly related the facts from their own observations and inquiries, and to have rejected every circumstance from their narratives of which they did

not think themselves fully assured, mention 400 at Cambuslang, independent of those who belonged to Kilsyth.

"Whatever opinion may be held with regard to the means or influence with which 400 individuals connected a reformation in their moral and religious characters, which they afterwards supported through life, no fair man will deny that such an effect produced on such a number of human beings is a subject neither of ridicule nor contempt. Many thousands attended, on whom no visible impression seems to have been made. And this fact, according with ordinary experience, and honestly related in the narratives on the subject, confirms, instead of lessening, their credibility.

"On the other hand, let the thousands who go away without having received any visible impression be out of the question, (though many good effects might have been produced, which were neither observed nor related at the time,) 400 individuals, who, to the conviction of those who knew them, become better men, —men more useful and conscientious in their stations, and more faithful in their practical duties than they ever were before, and who preserve this character while they live,—exhibits a view of the religion of Cambuslang and Kilsyth which a wise man will not easily bring himself to reprobate, and which no good man, if he candidly examines the facts and believes them, will allow himself to despise.

"It is vain to represent the religious instruction of Cambuslang as so defective, either in form or in sub-

stance, as to be incapable of producing any salutary effect, and as having been addressed much more to the imaginations and the passions, than to the consciences or the understandings, of the people.

" Though this is not admitted to have been the fact by those who had best access to judge,—if it be true that what was there preached became the instrument of producing a permanent reformation of manners in 400 or 500 individuals within the short space of six or eight months,—no other testimony is requisite to demonstrate either its value or its efficiency.

" The examples published to establish this fact it is impossible to mention here with any minuteness. It was observed, in particular, at Kilsyth, that, before this period, the people of that parish had been remarkable for such a litigious spirit, as had, in a great measure, destroyed the comfort and confidence of private life; and that, immediately after this period, the spirit of litigation seemed to be so much extinguished by the spirit of religion, that the magistrate of the district declared, that for many months no action whatever had been brought before his court, where it had before been usual to have a great many during the course of every week.

" Similar facts, equally decisive, were related from other districts; and, in general, it was certainly believed, by those who had the best access to be thoroughly informed, and who lived many years in the habits of intimate communication with the individuals, that they who were called the converts of 1742, with

few exceptions indeed, supported through life the character which they then assumed, and were equally distinguished by purity of manners and Christian sincerity.

"It is more than probable that they are now all in their graves, with Mr Whitfield himself, and every individual who attempted to stigmatize or to defend him; and it is surely consolatory to know, that, according to the best information which has been preserved, they have left no stain on their religious profession, or on the strong impressions of religion, which, under God, they ascribed to the ministry of Mr Whitfield and his associates;—that their conduct was equally open to those who distrusted their original professions and to those who relied on them;—and that, at the distance of upwards of seventy years, every information with regard to their personal conduct is in favour of the powerful impressions, by means of which they believed themselves to have been first persuaded to become Christians in earnest, and to have first imbibed the spirit of practical religion."

Sir Henry afterwards mentions, that Dr Erskine, in his pamphlet already referred to, appreciated the leading facts in the same way. The bodily agitations or convulsions he considered as nothing more than the effect of deep impressions made on the conscience, such as any serious alarm on any subject in common life, remote from religion might, in similar circumstances, have occasioned.

The evidence afforded by the testimony of such men as Edwards, Erskine, and Sir Henry Moncrieff, clergy-

men of the most irreproachable character, all of them men of acknowledged talent, as free from religious enthusiasm and fanaticism as any individuals who ever lived, is far more than sufficient to show, that there is no just ground for condemning the great religious meetings, which are now more common in the United States than in any other country, as inconsistent with the principles or the practice of the real professors of the Christian religion, and is far more than sufficient to shield the clergy of the United States, or such of them (especially the Methodists, the followers of Mr Whitfield,) as still maintain the doctrine of revivals from the gibes of those, who, in utter ignorance of the doctrines of the Christian religion, have given circulation to insinuations respecting the tendency of many of those religious meetings, for which there is generally not the slightest foundation.

All human institutions are liable to abuse; and there is no greater reason to maintain, that, because immoralities may have taken place among the multitudes assembled at camp-meetings in the United States, that such meetings should be discontinued, than that the sacramental meetings in Scotland, at which instances of impropriety of conduct have been said to occur, should be put down.

I believe many of the clergy of the United States also conceive, from the experience of the past, that more converts are to be expected from a great meeting lasting several days, when the people are as much as possible abstracted from secular business, than from the

ordinary services of the church. They refer, in order to prove the propriety of this sort of meeting, to the 15th chapter of St Matthew, verses 30 and *seq.* where the multitude, consisting of 4000, besides women and children, remained with Christ three days,—to the 8th chapter of St Mark, verses 4 and *seq.*—and to the sermon from the mount, (in St Matthew, chapters 5, 6, 7,) preached by Christ from the mountain to the multitudes.

"It is to be recollected," (says Lord Byron, perhaps a singular authority to refer to on such a subject,) "that the most beautiful and impressive doctrines of the Divine founder of Christianity were delivered, not in the temple, but on the mount; and that, waiving the question of devotion, and turning to human eloquence, the most effectual and splendid specimens were not pronounced within walls. Demosthenes addressed the public and popular assemblies. Cicero spoke in the forum. That this added to their effect, on the mind of both orator and hearer, may be conceived, from the difference between what we read of the emotions then and there produced, and those we ourselves experience in the perusal in the closet."

Lord Byron adds, "that, were the early and rapid progress of what is called Methodism to be attributed to any cause beyond the enthusiasm excited by vehement faith and doctrines, (the truth or error of which he presumed neither to canvas nor to question,) he should venture to ascribe it to the practice of preaching

in the fields, and the unstudied and extemporaneous effusions of its teachers."

A contribution is at the camp meetings made among the people, in order to defray the expence of the ground, and of the necessary police to preserve order.

"The rules and orders for the government of the camp meeting," printed on a card, were affixed to a great many of the trees on the neighbouring grounds. I tore off one of the cards, in order to preserve a copy of the rules, which follow.

"I. Preaching, morning, afternoon, and evening, at the sound of the trumpet from the stand.

"II. During the time of preaching from the stand, not more than one person is to remain in each tent, (except in cases of sickness,) but all are to repair to the stand, and come into the congregation.

"III. No walking, talking, or smoking tobacco, or standing up while there are vacant seats, is to be allowed within the circle of the tents in the time of preaching; no standing or walking on the seats at any time.

"IV. No cooking or preparing victuals, or setting or clearing off tables, during preaching from the stand, is to be allowed. This rule applies to those tents that keep boarders as well as others.

"V. About ten o'clock in the evening the trumpet will be blown at the stand, when all who have lodgings on the ground must retire to rest, and all who have not will be required to leave the ground.

"VI. The owners or occupants of each tent shall be responsible for these rules, and for any rude or improper conduct in their tents; and on complaint the tent shall be subjected to be removed."

These rules were most strictly observed, one person having been taken up on the evening before we arrived at the camp-ground merely for selling cyder. All sorts of liquor are prohibited, excepting tea and coffee. During the interval of worship, many of the people were walking about the adjoining grounds,—others were in their tents, where the head of the family, or some other person, was praying; and in some of those tents manifestations were occasionally given by the groans and exclamations of the people. There was less of these exclamations during the sermon than I had expected; the greatest order continued during the whole period of its delivery. Two of the clergymen had gowns and bands.

When the afternoon service was concluded, we remounted our vehicle, in order to reach Oyster Bay, where we proposed spending the night, before the sun set. We stopped in our way at a small village, two or three miles from the camp meeting, where, though not at regular hours, a good dinner was quickly prepared for us. Oyster Bay is about forty miles from New York, in Long Island Sound. The bay and village, which consists of straggling houses, are much resorted to as a summer retreat, are very beautiful, and the situation thoroughly retired. The hotel at Oyster Bay is large, and was well filled on this occa-

sion with people returning from the camp-meeting. We left it the next morning very early, (between four and five o'clock,) and ascertained that not a door had been shut during the whole night, nor even a window on the ground-floor. We crossed the country before breakfast, on the morning of our leaving Oyster Bay to Babylon, a village on the Atlantic side of Long Island, about twenty miles off, chiefly through a very wild country, consisting of thin soil overgrown with brushwood, the chief inhabitants of which are wild deer, quails and game, which are called here grouse and partridges, but which are very different from, and very inferior to, the birds of the same description in Britain. This tract of country is about seventy miles long, and is greatly resorted to by the people of New York as shooting-ground. No one is prevented from sporting over it as he likes. The hotel at Babylon is deservedly famous for its breakfasts. We had the Red Sea trout in perfection; and the shell-fish called clams admirably prepared at breakfast. From hence we retraced our steps to New York, passing through the very pretty village of Jamaica, as well as the grounds recently occupied by Mr Cobbett, which did not seem particularly to require notice.

Some time after I had attended this camp-meeting, I happened to go part of the way in the steam-boat, with a great party of men of colour and their families, who were proceeding to a camp-meeting, under the charge of their own clergymen, who were men of colour. I never saw a happier set of people than they

seemed to be; singing hymns in the boat, and regaling themselves with peaches, of which they had tubsful.

The Pine Orchard House, in the midst of the Catskill mountains, and about 2500 feet above the Hudson, is one of the most delightful retreats during the very hot weather at New York. An incorporated company was formed a few years ago, for the erection and maintenance of a splendid hotel upon a level rock, a few acres in extent, near the top of the mountains, about twelve miles from the village of Catskill, which is situated near the Hudson, upon its west bank, about 120 miles from New York. A friend accompanied me in one of the splendid steam-boats on the Hudson, the De Witt Clinton, when we agreed, on a very hot evening in New York, to try the climate of the mountains. The voyage was quite a fairy scene. There was an excellent band of music, and the evening was so serene and beautiful, that half of the passengers to Albany did not go to bed. I had occasion to observe here, what I had noticed before, that it is much less usual in the United States than with us for the men to wear night-caps. The boat touched, at two o'clock A. M., at the landing-place, about half a mile from the village of Catskill, and on getting ashore we found, what I certainly did not expect, stages waiting to carry us to the village of Catskill without any expence. There is at present a keen competition between two companies, who have abundance of carriages of all kinds for conveying travellers from Catskill to Pine Orchard House; and their agents, who are in waiting when the steamers from New York

arrive, consider it as almost certain, that those persons will prefer the conveyances of that company to carry them to the mountain house, who have brought them from the landing-place to the village of Catskill. When we reached one of the Catskill hotels, conveyances were in waiting ready to take us on immediately to the mountain house; but we preferred having a sleep at Catskill, which we did not leave till the following morning after breakfast. Catskill is a thriving village, with a considerable number of people employed in manufactures. The situation is pleasant, and the view of the river and neighbouring mountains, which are 3000 or 4000 feet high, very fine. We had a choice of conveyances, and preferred an open barouche, which contained four persons. The last five miles of the road was extremely steep—so much so, that a carriage is generally four hours in going the twelve miles to the house, and only two hours in returning. The horses get half a pint of rum mixed in a little water at a half-way house on the hill. The fare from Catskill, in consequence of the competition, is at present only half a dollar for each person. We found when we got to the house an English landlord, (Mr Webb,) and English waiters, who have more courteous, the Americans would say more obsequious, manners, than are common at hotels in this country. We were at once sensible of the change of temperature, the thermometer being here below 70°, while at New York it is above 80°. The house contains admirable public apartments, and cool comfortable bedrooms. Every thing in the house is good, and the din-

ner excellent. There seemed to me very little difference in the whole arrangement within doors from that of the best houses at Harrowgate, excepting that much less wine was used at dinner here, and very little after it, and that the tea and supper were taken as one meal. There was no card-playing, but there was music in the evening, and the inmates of the house seemed disposed to make themselves agreeable to each other. We were told in the evening that the view from the terrace in front of the house, which is twenty-five feet broad, was finer at sunrise than at any other time; but I was hardly prepared to expect, what was actually the case, that the whole company would have assembled on the terrace before five o'clock the next morning to witness the sunrise, and that this was no uncommon thing here. Fortunately the morning was beautifully clear, so that we enjoyed in perfection the sublime prospect over the Hudson, and a tract of country as rich and fertile, and well cultivated, as any upon the eastern coast of America. In the vicinity of the Pine Orchard House, there are delightful walks to the tops of the adjoining hills, and drives through the mountains of considerable extent, so that I cannot conceive a place better fitted for the New York people to retire to during the violence of the heat. There is not, it is true, the delicious water of Saratoga Springs; but there is here, on the other hand, a much cooler climate. There are waterfalls not far from Pine Orchard House, where the descent is no less than 260 feet, but the lack of water in the summer season is great. The scenery

on the banks of the stream is very romantic, and in duces every one who visits the mountain house to tak a peep of the Kauterskill Falls. The hills are ver generally covered with the mountain-laurel, which i a species of pale rhododendron. On our way bac to Catskill, a driver from Lanarkshire, in Scotland took us down the hill. He told me, that cheapness o living alone induced him to remain in the country,— he found he could make a little money, and he onl waited till it amounted to a certain sum, to enable hin to return and marry in Scotland. He is a native o the village of Douglas Mill, and seemed to understan the whip well, which is very necessary on this road for it is no easy matter to drive a coach and four on narrow road, on a very rapid descent, with sharp turn ings cut out of the side of the hill, and without an fence or protection on the exterior side.

I did not know, until after I had been some time a the mountain house, that the landlord was an English man, and was surprised at his asking me, when he hear me expressing my admiration of the prospect, whethe I had ever been at the White Horse in Wiltshire, fron which, he said, he thought the view was almost equall striking. The charge at this hotel is two dollars a-day Mr Webb has a circulating library. I returned fron the mountain house in the North America steam-boat Captain Benson, an obliging commander, carried th boat in the line, the best calculated to show me th Highlands to advantage, and gave me a place on th

platform beside the pilot. This is one of the most interesting scenes in the world.

West Point, where the great military academy of the United States is situated, is on the west side of the river Hudson, about fifty miles from New York. I went there accompanied by a gentleman, who had promised to introduce me to Colonel Thayer, the superintendant of the military school. The "North America" steamer afforded us the means of conveyance. The boat was crowded with passengers, among whom were Dr Hosack, the celebrated physician, and medical writer of New York, who has recently retired from practice,—of whose great kindness to me, I shall always retain a grateful sense.

I had been some time engaged in conversation with Dr Hosack, to whom my only introduction was in the steam-boat by Dr Mitchell of New York, the well-known translator of Cuvier, to whom I had been presented five minutes previously, when, in consequence of an answer from me to one of his inquiries, he discovered how near was my relation to two deceased friends of his in Edinburgh, with whom he had been well acquainted at the time when he was prosecuting his studies at the University of Edinburgh. As soon as he thus found out who I was, he anxiously pressed me to make his house my home as often as I liked; and even on this, the first occasion of my seeing him, he did not allow me to leave the steamboat at West Point without offering to be my banker to any extent I might require, as I was (he said) in a

foreign country, and might require assistance. I did not avail myself of this so handsome and liberal offer to a stranger, and various circumstances contributed to prevent me from partaking of Dr Hosack's hospitality so frequently as he wished me to do. But it is not the less incumbent on me to record so gratifying an example of the more than good offices which American gentlemen uniformly take pleasure in performing for all foreigners who have any thing like a claim of kindness on them. I presume my relatives in Scotland may have given the worthy Doctor some hints as to the plan of his medical studies when he was in Edinburgh, or may have pointed out to him a fit lodging, or had the pleasure of his company at dinner half a dozen times or more; and for this sort of civility shown him thirty or forty years ago, Dr Hosack made the return which I have mentioned.

Dr Hosack introduced me to Colonel Worth, who formerly had the military charge of the cadets at West Point, as well as to Captain Hitchcock, who now fills his place. A good deal of conversation took place respecting our different modes of living, especially on the subject of the charges in the hotels in America being regulated at so much per day, so that every man could know the extent of his expenditure, and resort to a superior or inferior hotel, according to his finances, instead of having a charge made against him by an innkeeper in England, over the amount of which the guest has no control. [Dr Mitchell told a story,—I remem-

ber,—of his going to Windsor one evening to see the castle. The waiter at one of the inns, I presume the best, asked him what he would have for supper,—mentioning, among other things, eels. The Doctor thought he would relish the eels as much as any thing else, and accordingly ordered them; but he beheld that part of his next day's bill with dismay, which contained a charge for the eels, exclusive of all the other various articles of the bill, amounting to no less than ten shillings and sixpence sterling.

A superb hotel has lately been erected near the landing-place, adjoining the West Point Academy, where we found a party of sixty people, and an excellent dinner, and a particularly good dessert of fruit. The hotel-keeper is a New Jersey man, and seems to understand his business almost as well as Mr Webb. Very little wine was used, and the party were all out of the dining-room in less than an hour. Soon after dinner, we waited upon Colonel Thayer, who showed us every sort of attention, and would not allow us to accompany him to visit the establishment until we had wine and cake with him. We had the pleasure of partaking of a most excellent breakfast with him next morning. The houses belonging to the establishment are plain and good, and nothing can be more beautiful than the parade, a handsome piece of level ground in the heart of the high lands, at an elevation of about 200 feet above the Hudson river.

The number of young men at the academy is about 250, educated at the expence of the government, from

the age of fourteen till twenty. This academy has been established for about thirty years. The young men are educated in all the branches of military science as well as in the minutiæ of tactics, comprehending the duties of a private soldier as well as those of the highest officer. They are required to encamp for six weeks every year, that they may be thoroughly instructed in all the details of the camp. Their discipline is very strict. Officers for the United States army are generally obtained from this school. The Duke of Saxe Weimar has, in his late Travels in the United States, given a detailed account of the system pursued at this military school, which he lately visited, and which he approved so much and so entirely, that he was anxious, when he was in the United States, to obtain permission for one of his sons to be educated there. The Duke of Saxe Weimar's authority upon such a subject is entitled to great weight. He served at different periods of the French revolutionary war under Buonaparte and the Duke of Wellington, and was equally respected, as a brave and intelligent officer, by both. He is now, I believe, second in command of the King of Holland's army. The favourable opinion which the Duke has so unequivocally expressed of this military academy makes Colonel Thayer, who was himself educated here, the less alive to the strictures which have lately appeared on the management and discipline of the academy in Captain Hall's Travels; but he complains, with great justice, of those strictures, Captain Hall having spent too short a time at West Point to be able to form an

opinion of the management which he pursues. Colonel Thayer only saw Captain Hall for two or three hours one morning, when he seemed to be in a great hurry to get away; but he expressed to Colonel Thayer his approbation of every thing he did see, and mentioned his intention to return, that he might have an opportunity to examine the whole establishment at leisure. What Colonel Thayer chiefly finds fault with is, Captain Hall's statement, that the commandant had taken him over the establishment, and asked his opinion about several points, from which it might be inferred, that he (Colonel Thayer) had asked Captain Hall's opinion as to those points. This, Colonel Thayer most unequivocally says, is a mistake. He never asked Captain Hall's opinion on any point whatever connected with the establishment. Captain Hall's opinion must therefore have been asked by other persons whom he saw at the academy, and this he should have mentioned. Captain Hall expressed to Colonel Thayer generally his approbation of every thing he saw without any exception whatever. Captain Hall was for a long time afterwards at New York, but never repeated his visit to the academy. Colonel Thayer waited upon him at New York, a day or two before Captain Hall embarked for Britain. He reminded Captain Hall of his intention to revisit the academy. This, Captain Hall said, was now out of his power; but he again stated how much he had been pleased *with all* he had observed at West Point.

The class-rooms and library are large and excellent

apartments. Colonel Thayer was so obliging, as not only to show us the public library, but his own private library, which contains many curious and valuable books. I have not seen in the United States a man of more gentlemanly manners and appearance than Colonel Thayer, nor one that is more thoroughly free from any thing like national prejudice in relation to this country. I had not read Captain Hall's remarks upon this establishment with any attention when I went to West Point. If I had, I should not have been entitled to expect so kind a reception. I remember Colonel Thayer observing, that he hardly knew which of the two late English writers on America were the most to be blamed,—Captain Hall for his prejudices against the United States, or Miss Wright for her's in their favour. The representations of neither were to be trusted.

Kosciusko, the Pole, who was in the American service during the revolution, afterwards resided in a romantic situation near West Point, and had a curious garden and water-fountain here. A monument of white marble has been erected to his memory on a projecting point, forming an abrupt bend of the river. There are a few other very interesting monuments in a beautiful situation to the memory of two or three of the cadets who have died here, erected by their class-mates in testimony of their esteem.

The situation of the West Point Academy is not only naturally one of the finest that can be conceived, but is very interesting, on account of the events with which it is connected. West Point, comprehending Fort

Putnam, situated on the high ground above it, was the most important military position upon the Hudson during the war of the revolution, and was absolutely necessary for the defence of the passage of the Hudson and the Highlands. This post commanded the river and the opposite shore, as well as the other works upon both banks, and was indispensably requisite for the protection of the greater part of the State of New York against sudden incursions from the enemy on the sea-coast, as well as for preserving a secure communication between New England and the United States. It was, therefore, during the first part of the war, well fortified under the direction of the most skilful engineers of the American and French armies, with an astonishing degree of expence and labour. It was called at that time the Gibraltar of North America. No wonder, then, that the treacherous attempt of the American general, Arnold, to deliver this post to the British in September 1780, created such a general alarm in this country. General Putnam, from whom Fort Putnam has its name, had originally planned that fortress on a natural platform of the rocks, very steep and inaccessible on all sides, the whole of the works being on that point of the river, where, deviating from the usual directness of its course, it bends suddenly round a bold and lofty promontory.

Fort Putnam, since the end of the revolutionary war, has been gradually dismantled, and is falling very fast to decay, but it is well worth seeing, presenting a singular feature in American scenery,—the ruins of an old

castle,—more to be looked for on the great European rivers than here. From its walls, which are easily accessible, the view is most atttractive,—not only of the river and the high-lands, and of the plain of West Point, (rendered gay by the military academy, and still more so when I saw it by the encampment of the cadets,) but also of a part of the finest country in North America, the rich plains of Duchess and Orange counties, filled with villages, the property in all cases of those who occupy them. Here is a yeomanry, of whom the United States may well be proud.

Long Branch, upon the coast of New Jersey, and quite exposed to the Atlantic Ocean, is the great seabathing place, as well for the people of New York as Philadelphia, and is easily accessible, first, by a steamboat conveyance for thirty miles through a fine part of New York Bay towards Sandyhook. Stages are the conveyance for the last eight miles.

On Sandyhook are the remains of a marble monument, containing the following inscription:—"At Sandyhook lie interred the remains of the Honourable Douglas Hamilton Halliburton, son of Sholto Charles Earl of Morton, and heir of the ancient family of Halliburton of Pitcurr, in Scotland, who perished on this coast, with twelve more young gentlemen and one common seaman, in the spirited discharge of duty, on the 30th or 31st of December 1783, born the 10th of October 1763,—a youth, who, in contempt of hardship or danger, though possessed of an ample fortune, served seven years in the British navy with a manly courage, and

seemed to deserve a better fate. This plain monumental stone is erected by his unhappy mother, Katharine Countess Dowager of Morton, to his dear memory, and that of his unfortunate companions, James Champion, lieutenant of marines; Alexander Johnstone, George Paddy, Robert Haywood, midshipmen; Charles Gascoigne, Andrew Hamerton, William Scott, David Reddie, William Tomlinson, William Spry, John M'Chain, Robert Wood, young gentlemen; George Towers, common seaman, cast away, all found dead and frozen, and buried in one grave."

The hotels are very large, and in a fine airy situation overlooking the ocean. The coast is extremely steep, and the oceanic swell often great; but the natives of the United States are said to prefer sea-bathing in the ocean to that in bays or rivers. Owing to the swell, females are often afraid to venture into the sea with a female bathing-woman, and on that account prefer the assistance of a man. This custom, which is very far from being general, has given rise to ill-founded stories of want of delicacy on the part of the American females. The fact is, I believe, exactly as I have stated it, and the parties always go into the water completely dressed. If this be wrong, what are we to say of the practice at Bath, which does not admit of the justification of necessity as it does at Long Branch, and at other bathing-places of the same description as Bath. The quantity of vegetables grown for the New York market on that part of the New Jersey coast between Shrewsbury and Long Branch, especially of cucumbers,

beet-root, and French beans, is immense. The steamboat was absolutely loaded with them.

On another excursion a friend accompanied me to Newark, which is considered one of the most beautiful villages in New Jersey, only ten miles from New York. It is interspersed with trees, and open pieces of fine green turf. The stage fare is only one shilling, upon one of the best roads in this country. We went on from Newark to the Orange Springs, a few miles from Newark, which are in a very pleasant situation, but the water is not found to possess those medicinal qualities for which it was at one period famed; and the great hotel is now used as an academy. We dined at a neighbouring country hotel, where, without any previous warning, they gave us for dinner fish, roasted lamb, broiled chicken and ham, peas, sweet Indian corn boiled, potatoes, and apple-pie, with a bottle of very tolerable claret, all for a dollar and a-half for two persons.

Schooley's Mountain, in New Jersey, about forty-five miles from New York, is another place of resort during the hot weather to the inhabitants of New York, as well as of Philadelphia, from which it is only twenty-five miles distant. It is not only situated in a cool and airy situation, but there are mineral springs in the neighbourhood of some value. I made a trip to it in the month of August, and was surprised to find so near New York the stage-drivers dine at table, both in going and returning. On the way, not very far from New York, I passed the property of Bishop Hobart of New York, which he has lately much improved.

He has planted a great many locust trees, which are the most useful and ornamental of the planted timber in this country. Belmont Hall is the chief house of public entertainment, and sufficiently reasonable in point of charges; but I think houses nearer the spring more convenient. The charge for boarding and lodging is five dollars per week. Belmont Hall itself is very agreeable as a residence,—it is well kept, and there are good baths. I lodged there for a night. The hill, or mountain, as it is called here, is 1200 feet high. There is a handsome well-situated church near it. The mineral spring is a rill issuing from a fissure on the perpendicular side of a rock, discharging about a gallon in two minutes and a-half. Its taste, and the appearance of the water, show that it is a chalybeate, strongly characterized by astringency and ferruginous impregnations. The water has been found extremely useful in cases of gravel.

The view in the neighbourhood of New York, which is the most easily accessible, is that from the Brocklyn Heights, on Long Island, the breadth of the steam-boat ferry there not being above half a mile. Though quite inferior to that from Staten Island, it is one of the most charming views, so near a town, of the town itself, of the bay and shipping, that can be conceived. On the other side of the city, the steam-boat ferry across the Hudson to Hoboken, enables the inhabitants of New York at once to leave the town, and get almost in a moment to retirement, and to shaded walks of very considerable extent. A very enterprising fa-

mily, of the name of Stevens, who have extensive property at Hoboken, on that part of the New Jersey shore, have been at great pains to lay out a considerable part of it in pleasure-grounds and walks, for the use of the New York people, and those who live in the neighbourhood. This, too, is a profitable employment of the ground, owing to the great increase which it has produced in the number of persons crossing at the ferry, and the consequent increase of the ferry funds. The ferry belongs to the same family.

While we remained in the neighbourhood of New York, the American steam-frigate Fulton, in consequence of an accidental explosion, was blown up at the Navy Yard, about three miles from the place where we were living, and occasioned such a shock as I shall never forget. She had been employed as a receiving-ship, and was moored within two hundred yards of the shore. At the time of the explosion, the officers were dining in the ward-room. There were nearly 100 persons on board, of whom about forty were killed or wounded. The accident happened by the gunner's going into the magazine to procure powder. This frigate was of the burthen of 2475 tons. She was not completed until, I believe, after the war was over, and had only, as I understood, made one short voyage to the ocean, and back again.

The 4th of July occurred when we were living at Mount Vernon. This is the anniversary of the day on which the declaration of independence of the United States was proclaimed, and is the only day in the year

which is entirely kept as a holiday. The militia are called out,—the people of colour have a procession,—and public dinners are the order of the day. Not one great dinner for those composing a select society, or belonging to a particular class, but dinners in various places for different corporations.

Steam-boat navigation has enabled the government of late years prodigiously to increase the post-office establishment. There are now between 8000 and 9000 post-offices in the United States, all conducted upon the same principle,—that the state is to derive no revenue from them. Indeed, the general post-office establishment at Washington is supported by the government funds. The interior details of the New York Post-Office are excellent. The letters in New York are delivered from the post-office with great rapidity. As soon as a packet arrives from Europe, a fresh delivery takes place. The letter-carriers receive a halfpenny for each letter they deliver; and, if they are steady, always make money. Several of them at present at New York are Scotchmen. They must all find security to a considerable amount. The Canada packet arrived on the 18th January from Liverpool, bringing 2575 letters. The New York delivery, though some parts of the city are above three miles from the Post-Office, was completed in an hour and a-quarter, after the letters were received at the post-office. The Scotch are preferred to other foreigners in all public employments, on account of their sobriety; the Swiss and Germans, as planters or landed pro-

prietors; but neither the English, nor especially the Irish, can withstand the demoralizing effects of cheap liquor, so well as the emigrants from the continent of Europe and the Scotch. Many of the Irish fall a sacrifice to the use of spirits; but still there is a great number of them in the neighbourhood of New York and Philadelphia doing well and living soberly. The mere eating-houses at New York are numerous. Dinners are got at a very reasonable rate; and mercantile men, whose dwelling-houses are distant from their places of business, very generally dine at those houses. Captain Hall mentions one eating-house which is, I believe, the best, kept by two Englishmen, Messrs Brown and Clark of Maiden Lane, who, it is said, are making money very fast. They deserve to do so, for every thing in the house is good and well-dressed. Their house is called the Franklin House. Captain Hall calls it the Plate-House, for what reason I know not, unless it be, that people sitting down to table call for a plate of whatever is wanted, and which is contained in the bills of the day. The house consists only of three public apartments, viz. the bar-room, a large coffee-room, with separate tables below stairs, and a dining-room above. Dinner is ready from twelve till five o'clock; a list is exhibited on the wall of the articles ready each day; and there is abundance of those articles always ready at a moment's notice, whatever may be the number of guests, who are every moment, as it were, popping in and out. This is an immense establishment. The number of persons dining every day must be im-

mensely greater than at the Trois Freres Provençaux of the Palais Royal. On going into the coffee-room, or dining-room, one of the waiters attends, and brings, almost in a twinkling, a plate of whatever is ordered. Captain Hall has made some great mistake in respect of the charge, which is very moderate here. He would lead a stranger to suppose it to be three times as great as it is. I presume, he had wine, and omitted to notice it in the note of articles he ordered. The charge for a plate of fish, for a plate of roasted turkey, with a slice of ham, with vegetables, potatoes, beans, &c. and plumb-pudding, or peach-pie, or apple-pie, is exactly one shilling Sterling; the price of a pint bottle of claret is one shilling Sterling; of a tumbler of beer or cyder, both good of their kinds, one penny;—no payment whatever is ever made to waiters. Instead of turkey and ham, corned-beef, roast-beef, or roast-veal, may almost always be had.

Turtle is very plentiful at New York, but not so well dressed as in England,—at least not so well for English palates; the price is one shilling and threepence for a large bason. Venison is very generally to be had, but almost always dry—only fit for soup. And soup is not so much esteemed, nor so frequently met with, in the United States, as in Britain. Roast-beef, beef-steaks, poultry, and pork are the favourite articles of food here.

A small tavern is kept in Nassau Street, one of the leading streets in New York, by a Mrs Mackay, an old Scotchwoman, where haggis and many other Scotch dishes are to be had; the sign post being a half-length

picture of Burns the poet, with two of his well known lines inscribed:

> "The night drove on with songs and clatter,
> And aye the ale was growing better."

In the same street is situated the store of Gould and Banks, law-booksellers; the sign post of which is a half-length portrait of Judge Blackstone.

In the neighbourhood of Mount Vernon there is a piece of public nursery ground, with the superintendant of which we became acquainted from sometimes walking in it. We found his name was Wilson, a native of Clackmannanshire, in Scotland, married to an Aberdeenshire woman. They have been here for many years, and are as happy as possible. They told us that they liked the country the longer the better. Mrs Wilson had been at home lately to see her relations, and spoke with regret of leaving them, living in the uncomfortable way they did, compared with the abundance she was enjoying. They have far better wages than at home, and far cheaper food; and, though they have a family, are laying up a considerable sum yearly for their old age. An Irishman, who had lately come over, not yet eighteen years old, was working in these grounds at the rate of ten dollars per month, besides board and washing. He told us that, after paying for his clothes and any little expences which he incurred, he was laying up thirty-five out of every sixty dollars he received.

There were several severe thunder storms while we were in the neighbourhood of New York, very different in their appearance from those which occur in Bri-

tain, but not attended with more accidents. One of them in the middle of June was, however, very tremendous; it occurred in the night, and the flashes of vivid lightning followed each other with so great rapidity, that the sky was altogether illuminated for a long period, and until a violent storm of wind, accompanied with a deluge of rain, came on. The roaring of the thunder never ceased during the continuance of the storm. Several casualties occurred in New York; some trees were torn up by the roots, the shipping was damaged, one vessel upset, and the crew were drowned. There is more appearance of devastation occasioned by thunder storms in the forests and woods of this country than anywhere else. Large portions of the forest are sometimes seen almost torn to pieces.

Subsequently to this period, and when I was travelling in the southern states, I was again and again a witness to very terrifying and magnificent thunder storms, where I have seen the whole atmosphere illuminated by the never-ceasing balls of fire bursting from cloud to cloud, and the appearance every moment of forked flashes of lightning. Few nights during the summer, and beginning of autumn in this country, occur, in which lightning is not visible in some part of the horizon. Conductors or electrical rods are very universal in this country on all houses and public buildings, and it is said that no accident has happened where this precaution has been carefully attended to. I mention this, because I know doubts have lately been expressed by persons, whose opinions are entitled to weight, as to the pro-

priety of erecting conductors, on the ground, that t
risk of attracting lightning is much increased
their presence, and that fatal consequences may ens
if, in such circumstances, the conductors are not suc
and in so complete order, as to convey the lightni
into the earth. I have, however, heard of several i
stances in this country of buildings in exposed situatio
where there are no conductors, being destroyed
lightning. Similar buildings have been erected in t
same situations provided with conductors, and no ac
dent whatever has taken place. I have also seen sev
ral buildings, the church of Bergen, in New Jersey, f
example, which have been struck by lightning, but whi
remained uninjured, the conductors having conveyed
to the earth. Accidents occasioned by lightning
Charleston, in South Carolina, were much more fr
quent previous to the introduction of the electrical r
than now. During one thunder storm, two church
five ships, and five houses, were demolished; but
similar casualty is said to have taken place since co
ductors became general.

Whatever opinion may now be entertained as to t
efficacy of electrical rods, it will not be affected by t
prejudices which were formerly entertained against t
American nation. The abhorrence of George t
Third to every thing American was such, that, duri
the revolutionary war, he even ordered the conducto
recommended by Dr Franklin to be removed fro
Buckingham House.

While we were at Mount Vernon, there was

church near us but a chapel of the Episcopal persuasion, which we attended. There was less exertion on the part of the clergyman who officiated here, than in any other place of religious worship where I have been in the United States, and the consequence was precisely what was to be expected, that, although the situation of the chapel was in the neighbourhood of New York, and in a neighbourhood thickly peopled, there was a greater number of empty benches than I have observed anywhere else.

In the month of August 1829, I was tempted by the description of a villa in Long Island Sound, near New Rochelle, at present kept as a boarding-house, to make a trip to it by the steam-boat, to discover whether it was a place that was likely to suit us. I went in the afternoon, and was amused to find, when we sat down to tea soon after I arrived, that the party, consisting of eight persons besides myself, were all British. The landlord and landlady were lately from London, and the rest of the party consisted of the family of Mr Martin, a London gentleman, now settled at New York, who had come upon the same errand as myself, in order to look at the boarding-house. I liked the place so much, that we removed thither while the weather was still very warm, on the 28th of August.

The house was the property of Mr Weyman, an American gentleman of considerable landed property, who resided in a cottage in the neighbourhood, and had put an Englishman in the house, which was large, to manage it as a boarding-house. It is situated on a

lawn overlooking part of the indented shores of L
Island. The public table was very pleasant; the
nagers of the house were very agreeable people;
the only boarders besides ourselves at first wer
South American, and a French gentleman, both n
chants. Mr and Mrs Weyman occasionally dined v
us; and though the party sometimes increased in n
ber during the first month that we remained h
the whole arrangements more resembled those of a
vate gentleman's house, than those of a hotel or bo
ing-house. The servants were all persons of col
Among them was a man of colour and his wife;
though they had the incumbrance of a child a yea
two old with them, they received twenty dollar
month, besides board and washing. This boardi
house was situated within a mile of the clean and n
looking village of New Rochelle, which is beautif
approached on both sides through rows of handso
poplar trees. There are various meeting-hou
here, but only two large churches; one of the E
copal persuasion, which was very well filled, and
other of the Presbyterian, at which Mr Stebbin
a very sensible well-informed young man, officia
We generally attended divine service at his chu
during the period that we remained in the neighbo
hood. On one occasion a singular circumstance h
pened there. Mr Stebbings had gone from ho
intending to return on a Sunday morning. He w
unavoidably detained. And the person who promis
to officiate for him failed to appear, in consequen

of the morning being very stormy. The congregation assembled,—a pause ensued. At length Dr Smith, one of the elders, a very respectable physician here, whose acquaintance I remember with pleasure, rose, and said, that they ought not to separate without discharging those religious duties which had led them to assemble on the first day of the week, and should do what they could to improve their time. He then gave out a psalm from his own seat, without going into the pulpit. Afterwards he prayed at great length. In the meantime, he had sent home one of his daughters for a volume of sermons, one of which he then read. A second psalm, given out by him, was sung; and the service was concluded by a prayer from Mr Lister, a farmer in the neighbourhood, another of the elders;—the whole without any fuss or exertion. There certainly is an appearance of absence of hypocrisy about the people, which is quite startling to Europeans, but which is obviously owing to the perfect freedom of their institutions, and to that degree of equality which unquestionably exists. It seems absurd to them to think of assuming a different character from that which really belongs to them.

The number of carriages at the church doors, especially at the doors of the Episcopal meeting, which the wealthier people attend, is very great. There were Sunday schools both in the Episcopal chapel, and in the Presbyterian church. Dr Smith's daughters took the principal charge of that belonging to this church. While we remained at New Rochelle, a confirmation

took place at the Episcopal chapel, at which Bishop Hobbart (since deceased) officiated. He preached from the text, "Many are called, but few are chosen." The church was much crowded on this occasion. The service was performed in a very impressive manner.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Excursion to both sides of the Hudson—Duffie's Hackney Coach—Tarrytown—Major André's Capture—Details — His Execution—General Washington's wish to save him—Account of Serjeant Champe's Expedition—Major Lee's Memoirs—Sir Charles Asgill's Danger and Escape—Details — Sing-Sing Prison—Mr Roscoe's Views — Dinner at Sing-Sing — Macleod's Hotel — Supper — Mr Conklin's Orchard—Cyder-Making—Charge at the Hotel—Verplank's Point—Visit to it—Mr Verplank at Work at his Agricultural Operations—Peekshill—Philpstown—Colonel Robinson's House occupied by General Arnold—Arnold's Treachery—His Residence in England—Contempt with which he was treated—Mansion-House at Fishkill—Passage through the Fishkill Mountains—Poughkeepsie—Opinion of Dr Mitchell and the Geologists, as to the Existence of a Great Lake above the Highlands—Hyde Park—Its Beauties—Dr Hosack's Terrace—Supper at Rhinebeck—Meagre Furnishing of Bed-Rooms—Cold Weather—Garrett Cuck's Hotel—Breakfast—Manners of the People compared with British Manners—George Woodhull—Miss H.—Captain Hall's Opinion as to want of Loyalty on the part of the Americans—Tea Parties—Kindness of the Americans to the British—Admitted by Captain Hall—Want of Gratitude on the part of the British for American Hospitality—British Exclusives—Washington Irving on the Peculiarities of his Countrymen—Prepossessions unfavourable to the Americans since the Revolution—Loss of the American Colonies, a Severe Humiliation to Great Britain—Difference between Rebellion and Revolution—No Ambassador sent to America after the Revolution—Mr Adams sent by the Americans in 1785—His Account of his Interview with

George the Third—Mr Adams recalled in 1787, no Ambassador ing been sent from Britain—Mr Hammond sent in 1791—Mr ferson's reception of him—Contempt of the United States show the British—Mr Jefferson's Letter—Church at Rhinebeck—Ci Hudson—Bryan's Hotel—Circuit Court at Hudson—Breakfa Kinderhook—Beauty of the Village—Richardson's Hotel—Vie Albany—Hotel at Troy—Population—Circuit Court—Assi Judges—Jurisdiction of Magistrates of Boroughs in Scotland— sistance of Lawyers—Circuit Court adjourned at one o'clock to —Troy—Schools—Mr Parker, Bookseller—Inquiries as to Brougham—Mount Ida—View—Farmer from Scotland.

September and October, 182

ABOUT the end of September, I put in executio plan which I had long wished to accomplish, by vi ing both sides of the Hudson by land. Steam conveya is far too rapid to allow even the beauties of the sce which are capable of being seen from the river, to m a due, or sufficiently permanent impression; and it d not afford the opportunities required for visiting th parts of the country on each side of the river, wh are the most remarkable, or the most interesting. is only possible to get acquainted with the many attr tions which the varied outline and diversified coun on each side of the Hudson presents, by travelli leisurely by land. As soon, therefore, as the weatl in the autumn became sufficiently cool, I set about p paring for our expedition. The hacks or hackn coaches of New York are admirably suited for such expedition as this. They are light, some of them above 1100 pounds weight, the roof being suppor upon a metal frame. Curtains are let down in a n

ment in case of rain, or for protection from the sun. The horses are generally active and good, and the drivers Irishmen, or men of colour. I contracted with an Irishman, Hugh Duffie, who was proprietor of his own equipage, he paying the whole expence for himself and his horses. His charge was very reasonable, and he was perfectly satisfied with payment at the rate stipulated when the journey was over. I can safely recommend him to future travellers. Our conveyance took us up at New Rochelle, and carried us through the county of West Chester, on the east side of the Hudson to Tarrytown, near which we were shown the spot where the unfortunate Major André was taken. The details of his tragical fate are too well known to require that they should be circumstantially recorded here. He was adjutant-general of the British army at New York, and had undertaken to have a personal interview with the traitor, General Arnold, within the American lines, in order to make arrangements for the surrender of the important post of West Point, which Arnold commanded, to the British. On his returning from the meeting, he was arrested by three Americans patrolling between the outposts of the armies. André alarmed, instead of producing the passport which Arnold had given him, under the fictitious name of John Anderson, asked the men where they belonged to, and on their replying "to below," meaning to New York, "So do I," said André, "I am a British officer." This answer sealed his fate. "You belong to our enemies then," was the rejoinder, "and we arrest you

in the name of the American Congress." Then, an not till then, André produced Arnold's pass, saying "am I then among my American friends?" B this time, however, the ill-concealed anxiety of Majo André, and his first fatal admission, had excited s great suspicion, that his captors did not consider th pass to be genuine, and proceeded to search him. Th important papers respecting the delivery of the pos having been found in his possession, André offered hi watch, afterwards a thousand guineas, and, last of all a draft on Sir Henry Clinton, the commander-in-chief for ten thousand guineas, he to remain a hostage with two of the party, until one of them could ride to th British quarters and return with the money. All hi offers were rejected, and he was delivered by his cap tors into the hands of the American commanding offi cer, to whom he admitted himself to be the adjutant general of the British army.

He was immediately conducted to West Point, and thence to head quarters, at Tappan, where, upon the 29th of September, he was brought before a board o fourteen general officers, among whom was La Fayette who found that he ought to be considered as a spy, and to suffer death. The sentence was put in execution on the 2d of October 1780.

Great exertions had been made to save André, who was a general favourite with the army, and an amiable and brave man; and General Washington has been much blamed for allowing the law to take its course. But it does not seem, looking back to the circumstances

in which Washington was then placed, that he had any alternative. Previous to this period, various American officers had been put to death by the British for being found within the British lines. One of them, Captain Hale, of Connecticut, offered himself as a volunteer for the hazardous service of obtaining the best information respecting the British army on Long Island, after Washington's retreat to New York. In attempting to return, after executing his instructions, he was apprehended, and carried before Sir William Howe, to whom he acknowledged who he was. Sir William Howe at once, without resorting to a court, gave an order to have him executed next morning, which was accordingly done. In such circumstances, it would have been looked on as an acknowledgment of weakness on the part of the American commander-in-chief, if he had shown any hesitation in a case so perfectly plain as that of André; but it became known, long after André's death, that General Washington had been most anxious to save him. First of all, he at once offered to the British general to save him, upon his delivering up General Arnold. This offer being rejected, he made an attempt to get Arnold into his power by stratagem, determined, if it succeeded, to save the life of Major André. He communicated his views to a single confidential officer, Major Lee, commanding a corps of cavalry. Having sent for Lee, he told him that his object was to have Arnold brought off from New York, where he then was, that he might, by getting him, save André. He made this communication (he said) in the expecta-

tion that Lee had in his corps individuals capable a willing to undertake so hazardous an enterprise. A cordingly Serjeant Champe was the person fixed upo a man of tried courage and inflexible perseveranc Champe having at length agreed to make the attemp set off as soon as the necessary instructions were pr pared for him,—and, after encountering dangers of r ordinary kind, reached New York. Every arrang ment for the abduction was completed, when Arnol was ordered to remove his quarters to another part the town, and it became impossible to carry the desig into execution. General Washington presented Champ with his discharge from farther service, on account the zeal he had shown to execute the difficult du which he had intrusted to him.

Major Lee has, in his memoirs, given most interes ing details relative to Champe's mission.

André was the author of a satirical poem, which h published at New York, called the Cow Chase, writte on the failure of an expedition undertaken by the Am rican General Wayne, for the purpose of collectin cattle. Part of the satire was directed against Gener Washington, but it was chiefly aimed at Wayne, who entire baggage, he asserted, was taken, containing

> " The Congress dollars, and his prog,
> His military speeches:
> His corn-stalk whisky for his grog,
> Black stockings and blue breeches."

He concludes by observing that it is not safe for hi to proceed further,

" Lest the same warrior drover Wayne,
Should catch—and hang the poet."

Major André was actually delivered over to the division of the American army under the command of Wayne.

General Washington, a year or two afterwards, had almost felt himself obliged to resort to a measure even more heart-rending than acquiescing in the death of André.

In the spring of 1782, Lippincott, a British officer, had caused Captain Huddy of the American militia, against whom no crime was alleged, but that of being in arms against the British, to be executed without the formality of a trial. General Washington having in vain demanded that Lippincott should be delivered up to pay the forfeit of his crime, an order was issued, directing the American officers commanding at Lancaster, where the British prisoners were confined, to select by lot a captain to be sent to the main army, that he might there, by his death, atone for the murder of Captain Huddy. The lot fell upon Sir Charles Asgill, who was immediately brought to head quarters, and his person strictly secured. In the meantime, however, General Washington had ordered a most strict examination of the circumstances attending the death of Captain Huddy, when it turned out that Lippincott had acted under the orders of a superior authority. General Washington immediately communicated this information to Congress, who lost no time in ordering the release of the prisoner.

Sing-Sing, about thirty-two miles from New York, was our dining-place on the day we left New Rochelle. Here is placed the other great state-prison of New York. It is still in an unfinished state, and most of the convicts are employed on the building itself, in hewing stones, or in masonry of other kinds. Their work is valued, and in that way it is found that their employment is as profitable as at Auburn. The prison here is about 480 feet in length. I called at a bookseller's to obtain a copy of the last report to the legislature respecting the Auburn prison. He expressed his regret that he had not one in his possession, because he perceived that I was from Britain; but finding, on inquiry, that I proposed to go to Albany, he said I would have no difficulty in procuring a copy from the secretary of state there. He told me of a correspondence that he had with Mr Roscoe, of Liverpool, on the subject of prison discipline, in which he had explained to Mr Roscoe his views of the superiority of the Auburn system over that of solitary confinement. We proceeded in the evening to a second rate hotel, near the village of Croton, kept by civil people, of the name of Macleod. Supper consisted of coffee and toast, cold beef, bread home baked, and preserved peach-pie. After supper, Mrs Macleod, who had dressed herself neatly in the meantime, expressed a wish to bring in her children, a son and two daughters, to see us, as we were strangers, and her children were, she thought, too shy. We found them well-

educated children, the eldest daughter possessing a great deal of knowledge in geography.

The Van Courtland estate is in this neighbourhood. It is of far greater extent than most estates in this country, above eight miles in one line. One of the largest orchards in this country is in the vicinity of this place, belonging to Mr Conklin. It consists of forty acres. All the trees are raised by himself from the seed and grafted. He sells his Newton pippins and Russell pippins, and manufactures the remainder of his apples into cyder. The cyder-mill is eighty feet long, and there are two cellars of equal length. The barrel of cyder contains from twenty-eight to thirty-two gallons; the price of each barrel is from three to seven dollars, according to the quality. Pasture grass is let here at from four to five dollars an acre, which seems a high price, when a horse is grazed at a dollar and a-half. I had some Malaga and water at this tavern in the evening. The landlord told me that the Malaga cost him eight shillings a gallon. Next morning we had an excellent breakfast of coffee, eggs, toast and butter, and beefsteak; the whole charge for lodging, supper, and breakfast, being 5s. 9d. Sterling. The rides are very beautiful from Macleod's hotel to the entrance to Verplank's Point, a promontory projecting into the Hudson, at the entrance to the Highlands. I had seen from the steam-boat what a delightful looking place it was, and resolved to attempt to have a peep at its beauties, although we had to leave the public road, and to drive two miles into the grounds of the private

proprietor. When we had got two-thirds of the way or more, we arrived at a point from which the road took two courses, one diverging to the right, and the other to the left. We were puzzled which of the lines to follow, and drove on to the adjoining field, where we saw several people at work, carrying out manure in waggons and spreading it. I made the carriage stop at the first waggon, which was drawn by oxen, and asked the driver if we were on the road to the house. The person driving the waggon replied, "This, Sir, is not the road to my house; but I perceive you are strangers, and you are very welcome to go this way." This reply, of course, led to explanations between us; and when Mr Verplank found that we were strangers, wishing to see the beauties of his place, he showed us every sort of attention, and desired us to drive on to the lawn in front of the house, which was not usually allowed. The house is good and large, and the office-houses appeared to us particularly so. There are no less than twenty of them, all separate from each other, to prevent communication by fire, as we supposed, and all very neatly painted; but the great attraction of the place consists in the views of the river, and various points projecting into it, and of the high-lands from different points of the truly beautiful lawn in front of the house. Mr Verplank told us that he had been living in the southern parts of the United States, and had only succeeded his father about a year ago, and was now busy, as we saw, in putting his inheritance in good order.

The estate, which belongs to Mr Verplank, is of con-

siderable size on both sides of the river, and he is also in possession of a large fortune in money, and is obviously a gentleman in manners and by education. He made no allusion whatever to the employment in which we found him engaged, and he showed good taste in abstaining to do so; for, although it is not a general practice, as I understand, for gentlemen in Mr Verplank's situation in this part of the United States, in which I mean to comprehend the populous parts of New York State, Pennsylvania, and New England, to be themselves actively employed in agricultural operations, I mean actually to work with their farm servants, nothing is more common in the United States, taken as a whole, and in the newly cultivated parts of Pennsylvania, and New York States, and in almost all the western country, than for the proprietors to work in the field, and at the same occupation, as their servants. In the western country, on the Ohio and Mississippi, more lately peopled, the proprietors and their servants almost always eat together. Of course I allude to farmers or planters living in the country, and not to persons of that description living in the large towns.

We got on to Peekshill, on the banks of the river, to dinner; and for three shillings we had an excellent dinner quickly prepared, and with brandy and water. In the parlours of all these inns there is a small library. Here we saw the Pilgrim's Progress, Smith on Typhus, Byron's Works, and two English Prayer Books. The road from hence to Philpston is hilly and rough, but very interesting, from its passing through the high-lands.

We did not arrive till nearly seven o'clock at Philpston, which, though only fourteen miles from Peekshill, was a heavy stage for the horses, and occupied us three hours and three quarters. There are many orchards here, with a considerable number of quince trees. Some of the apples on the trees are so red, that they almost appear to be the production of a tropical climate. We had here for supper coffee, bread and butter, grape and peach jelly, and cheese, the charge for which and for lodging was three shillings Sterling. We found next morning, that, if we had wished to be accommodated in a more splendid hotel, we should have gone on a mile further to Horseborough's house. In this neighbourhood, and in a most romantic situation on this side of the river, is the house occupied by General Arnold, —then belonging to Colonel Robinson, a loyalist,—at the time when he attempted to deliver up West Point to the British; and here Arnold first received the information of André's capture. He lost not a moment in proceeding down the river in an eight-oared barge, to join a British sloop of war, in which he fortunately escaped to New York. He received L. 10,000 from the British, and the same rank in their service which he had held from his countrymen, against whom he acted during the remainder of the war. After the war he resided in England; but he was treated in that country at various times in a way not very likely to lead others to imitate his treasonable conduct. On one occasion, the present Lord Lauderdale, who had perceived Arnold on the right hand of George the Third, and

near his person, when his Majesty addressed Parliament, declared, on his return to the Commons, that, however gracious the language which he had heard from the throne, his indignation could not but be excited at beholding, as he had done, his Majesty supported by a traitor. Lord Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, rising to speak in the House of Commons, and perceiving Arnold in the gallery, sat down with precipitation, exclaiming, "I will not speak while that man," pointing to him, "is in the house." General Arnold was with the King at another time, when Lord Balcarras, who had fought under General Burgoyne in the Saratoga campaign, was presented. The King introduced them. "What, Sire?" said the Earl, drawing up his form and retreating, "the Traitor Arnold?" The consequence was a challenge from Arnold. They met, and it was arranged that the parties should fire by signal. Arnold fired, and Earl Balcarras, turning on his heel, was walking away, when Arnold exclaimed, "Why don't you fire, my Lord?"—"Sir," said Lord Balcarras, looking over his shoulder, "I leave you to the executioner."

Next morning we proceeded to Fishkill, which is about sixty miles from New York, to breakfast, passing through many fine farms, and on an excellent road. The mansion-house at Fishkill is a capital hotel. The family and boarders had breakfasted before we got there; but one of the best breakfasts I ever saw was very soon set before us. The walks and drives in this neighbourhood on the hills are fine; and the house being large and well kept, affords great temptation to

strangers to pass some time here in a quiet cool situation. We found one family from New York, who had made this house their head-quarters for some time. Baker's Livy, Dwight's Theology, and Nicholson's Encyclopædia, are among the books on the table.

The passage through the Fishkill mountains is one of the most interesting parts of the Hudson; and the heights in the neighbourhood of Fishkill present the most varying and romantic views of the river, sometimes appearing in detached lakes, and from other points as a large sheet of water covered with numerous boats and shipping. The town of Newburg, and the villages and high grounds on the opposite side of the river, enliven the prospect. Many of the passes are narrow, and remind a traveller of defiles of the same kind in the Highlands of Scotland. The mountains of Scotland are far more magnificent, for there is no elevation here above 1500 or 1600 feet in height; but there is no such river in the Highlands of Scotland as the Hudson. There is limestone in this neighbourhood, but the hills are generally mica-slate.

The country from Fishkill to Poughkeepsie abounds with fine farms, which, I was told, might be worth about forty dollars an acre wherever the buildings attached to the land are tolerably good. To those who would purchase land already cleared, with a view to profit, I would rather recommend the banks of the Hudson, within from thirty to fifty miles of New York, where the farmers have succeeded in establishing steam-boats, in order to carry their produce daily to that city.

Poughkeepsie is the capital of Duchess County, and a considerable place. Swift's Hotel, where we dined, is as handsomely furnished as any country hotel I have seen anywhere. A piano-forte is in the parlour. The Catskill mountains are noble-bounding objects from Poughkeepsie, and look more picturesque here than anywhere; and although we are in the midst of a very fertile and rich territory, the Catskill mountains on the one hand, and the Fishkill mountains to the southward, would almost induce a belief that we were still in the high-lands.

The geologists of this country, with Dr Mitchell of New York at their head, have no doubt that the Hudson did not always find its way to the sea through the high-lands of the Hudson, or the Fishkill mountains. These mountains, composed chiefly of granite and gneiss, about sixteen miles broad, seem formerly to have dammed up a lake high enough to cover a prodigious tract of country, extending to the foot of the Catskill mountains on the one hand, and to the Falls of the Mohawk on the other; but by some convulsion of nature, or the abrasion of a cataract, the mountain chain had been broken, and their waters have found their way to New York Bay. The drive from Poughkeepsie to Hyde Park and to Rhinebeck passes through a rich undulating country, the ground on the banks of the river commanding as pleasing views as can be imagined. There is a greater number of country seats than I have seen anywhere away from the great towns upon this line of country. They belong to Mr Broome, Mr

Holebrooke, Dr Allen, Mr Macrae, Dr Hosack, M Wilks, Judge Pendleton, and Messrs Livingstone, o ginally from Scotland, who have a great territory he

The family of Livingstone is not only remarkable f the prodigious extent of territory they enjoy on t Hudson, but for having given birth to many emine men, the chief of whom are the late Chancellor Li ingstone of New York State, who was American m nister to France when Buonaparte was First Consul, a was the great supporter of Fulton; and Mr Livin stone of Louisiana, the author of the Louisiana Co of Laws, (now, in 1832, secretary of state to Gener Jackson.) Robert, the first proprietor of the Livin stone manors on the Hudson, was son of the Reverer John Livingstone, minister of Ancrum in Scotlan where he was born 13th December 1658, and was d scended from the celebrated Mr Livingstone, who preaching at the Kirk of Shotts was attended with t astonishing effects recorded by Fleming and others.

Dr Hosack's terrace is the finest that I have see on the river, and possesses views, ending with t Catskill mountains in the distance, that can hardly b surpassed. A great number of workmen are at pr sent employed by him in extensive improvements upo the grounds, and the enlargement of his mansion-hous

The evening was cold when we arrived at Jacob Hotel, at Rhinebeck, and we therefore ordered a fir They brought us, as usual, very good coffee, home made bread, some hot meat, butter, preserves, &c. W had concluded our repast, when the waiter came in an

laid the cloth for one person, in the corner of the room, and set upon it a new edition of the very same articles which we had had, for our driver. I presume this was done on account of the room being rendered more comfortable by the fire we were enjoying. The driver is a very modest person, and made his exit as soon as he had finished his meal. We have not hitherto, during the whole of our journey, seen any thing like a poor man's house, or a beggar, or any one who did not seem to be well-clothed and fed. As few people are walking on the public road as in other parts of this country: all are on horseback, or in their dearborns, or other carriages. One of the greatest annoyances in travelling here arises from the bed-rooms being almost universally meagrely furnished. A bed, without curtains, even where requisite, and with far too narrow bed-clothes, a couple of chairs, with a bason-stand, a small table, and a small looking-glass, form the sum total of what is thought necessary for a bed-room. A sufficient number of basons and of other things is hardly ever provided, unless they be particularly desired. Though this house is small, there is a considerable library in it, chiefly relating to religion, to law, and to grammar. The waiters at all the houses where we have been, excepting at Fishkill and Poughkeepsie, were females, white women, and uniformly obliging, although they would not have accepted a shilling had it been offered; but at Fishkill, there was a little boy of colour, who, as usual, was looking out for his fee. Both Rhinebeck and Poughkeepsie, originally peopled

by the Dutch, still resemble very much Dutch towns. Rhinebeck is upon a fine plain, at a considerable height above the Hudson, from which it is about two miles distant.

We left Rhinebeck early in the morning, with the thermometer at 45°, and went on to a small hotel about a mile beyond Redhook, about eleven miles, to breakfast, for which we were quite ready when we got there. We knocked at the door, but no one answered. At length the master of the house, Garret Cucks, appeared. His family had breakfasted, and his son and daughter were teaching at a Sunday-school, a quarter of a mile off. He would go for them, and quickly get all we required. He was as good as his word. A blazing fire was soon made, and as comfortable a breakfast produced as we had enjoyed during the whole course of our journey. Eight eggs were set down for two persons, and preserves of peach and pear. The family remarked us admiring their apples in the orchard before we left them, and offered us as many as we could carry away. We accepted of a few, but enough for our use during our journey. The kindness and hospitality of the Americans are quite unostentatious. I write, however, of the mass of the people, and without reference to the small number of people, who consider themselves the great in this country. An invitation to dinner is generally given in such words as these: "I will be pleased to see you at two o'clock." Frequently no change whatever is made in the dinner supposing you to accept. Your friend knows that

there is always abundance of good food upon his table. That degree of attention is shown to you which a stranger meets with everywhere, in seeing that his plate be filled in the first instance with what he likes, but no pressing or entreaty are used to make him eat or drink more than he likes. If wine is produced, it is left to him to partake of it or not as he chooses. There is hardly ever any talk about the dinner, or the quality of the wine, which you are not provoked to drink by being told how many years it has been in your friend's cellar, or to what vintage it belongs.

It is much more probable that, even amongst the richest classes, excluding always a few who form small coteries in the great towns, or who have been much in England, you will hear little conversation, and that relating more to their professional pursuits, their gains, and their dollars, and their political situations, than to the food they are eating, or the wine they are drinking.

I am far, however, from doubting the sincerity of the hospitality of the people of this country, as some travellers have done, although formal invitations may not be so generally given as with us. While, however, I am on the contrary persuaded that invitations are seldom given when there is not a real wish that the invited should accept them, I must at the same time confess, that I like the style of entertaining friends to which I have been accustomed, and which prevails in Britain, better than in the United States. I prefer the warmth of manner with which (whether apparent or

real,) a British landlord exerts himself to induce
guests to partake liberally of the good things, both e
able and drinkable, which he has prepared for the
by agreeable conversation, and by descanting on t
feeding of his beef, or the age of his mutton, or the
cellence of his wine,—to the merely passive, perh
indifferent looking manner, as it seems to us, of t
Americans. In Britain, even at a public table, th
sitting next each other attend to each others wants, a
recommend to them anything which is within th
reach, which they think particularly good; and I do
see that the conviviality of the party is not at least
much enjoyed when the conversation relates to t
quality of the provisions, their cookery, and the exc
lence of the wine,—subjects which are level to the
pacity of all,—as when it relates to an investment
cotton, or to the repeal of the tariff,—subjects in whi
those addressed may take little or no interest. It wou
be easy to multiply instances to show how much t
desire of making money constantly engrosses t
thoughts of all, both young and old, in this countr
One example occurs to me at present of a little bo
eight years old, George, the son of Mr Woodhull,
Mount Vernon, where we resided. He used frequent
to amuse himself by coming into our room, and we e
couraged him, as he was a smart fine boy. We oft
talked to him jocularly of his accompanying us, wh
we returned to Britain, and he seemed to have so
inclination to do so. At last he asked me, " But wh
would you give me, if I were to go with you to B

tain?" I replied, "Five dollars a month." He did not lose a moment in leaving us to get information, whether five dollars a month was sufficient wages at his time of life. When he came back he was in an ecstasy of joy. He laid himself on his back, and kicked up his heels, telling us it was a good offer, and he would accept; "but," said he, "I must have my board;" this was conceded: "then," said he, "I must have my washing too." To this demand we demurred, to try the effect of it upon the boy, but he was quite firm, —every body in his country had board and washing, besides their wages, and he would not engage to go anywhere unless they were promised. Attachment to their country and to its institutions are as firmly fixed in the minds of the young as of the old in this country. A young lady, of the same age as George Woodhull, (Miss S. H.) was very frequently with us while we were at Mount Vernon. In some branches of knowledge she was very far advanced for her age. On one occasion she showed a great desire that we should tell her every particular we knew respecting the splendour of the equipages in London; especially the state-coaches of His Majesty, the Lord Mayor, &c. She heard us patiently to an end, and then she exclaimed energetically, "It makes me sick to hear all this,—give *me* a free country, and none of your pageantry."

Captain Hall is nowhere more completely mistaken, than in charging the people of the United States with want of loyalty. What is loyalty, but attachment to the government and institutions of the country of one's

birth? Loyalty in Britain does not mean attachm to George the Third, or William the Fourth, to individual, but to the kingly office, as one branch of government.

Tea-parties, which are very common in the Uni States, in some measure make up for what I look u as the more rational and comfortable conversational d ner of the middling, the best classes of society in I tain. Where those tea-parties take place by invitati the table is liberally covered, and with a greater nu ber of articles, such as a profusion of cakes of vari kinds and preserves. Animal food, too, of some scription or other, is almost always produced,—and ter the tea or supper is finished, wine of various kin nuts, fruit, &c. are placed on the sideboard, or hanc round. There is, perhaps, a little more room for c versation at such parties than at British routes; but s I conceive the rational interchange of sentiment wh takes place at English dinners, to be, generally spea ing, awanting in the meal which is called by the sa name in the United States. Let it not, however, supposed, that I mean to insinuate that at any dinn public or private, either a stranger or native has a reason to expect an uncivil answer to any conversati which he may address to any one sitting at table; t the custom is so universal in the most populous part the United States, to leave the table immediately af dinner, to smoke a cigar, and afterwards to return professional business; that the people generally seem me to be least inclined for convivial conversation at t

very time when we, with better taste as I think, enjoy it most. I am bound, however, to add, after seeing much more of the United States than I had done when I was making these remarks, that I have been at many tea-parties in various parts of the country, where, sitting over our wine after tea, we had the enjoyment of agreeable and instructive conversation for quite as long a time as should ever be devoted to it either in the Old or New World. I am also bound to add, what I myself had opportunities to observe, both in my own case and that of other persons whom I knew, that there is the very greatest desire on the part of the people of this country, *of all classes*, to show kindness and attention, and to give special proofs of hospitality to persons from Britain, who may have had it in their power to show attentions to them, or their friends and relations in England.

There is no description of persons in this country who would not act in this manner. Can as much be said for all classes of men in the British islands? I am afraid, notwithstanding that heartiness of manner which distinguishes the British so much more than the people of the United States, and which is so agreeable to strangers, that this is a test to which it may not be prudent to subject the former.

All of our writers on the United States, even the last of them, Captain Hall, admit, that wherever they had introductions, they were treated with kindness and civility,—in many places overloaded and overpowered with attentions. I have no doubt that such attentions

would meet with a due return from the great bulk of the people in Britain,—but would this happen universally in London, or generally in the aristocratic society of the British islands? Not universally, I suspect. Many instances, unfortunately for our national character, have occurred of individuals of some rank in Britain who have visited the United States, and received gratefully the civilities of the Americans, who have not even thought it necessary to leave their cards for those to whom they were so much obliged, when they have come to London and called for their former acquaintances. The Americans should, however, be aware, that, whenever this happens, the individuals to blame belong to that select class of the aristocracy who think that the public consists only of two classes, of themselves and of the mob, with whom they have nothing in common. If they were to associate with a *Parvenu*, or with an American, unless under very peculiar circumstances, they must infallibly lose cast, and be shyed by the leaders of that society, who lay themselves more open to the derision of their countrymen than any other. They might be rejected or sent to Coventry at Almacks, or at some of the leading clubs in the British metropolis,—and they therefore rather subject themselves to those feelings which their ingratitude must produce, than banish themselves from the society in which they have been brought up, and to which they have become so much accustomed, that they cannot live out of it.

Washington Irving has detailed the peculiarities of his countrymen with his usual skill and correctness:—

" The national character (he writes) is yet in a state of fermentation. It may have its frothiness and sediment, but its ingredients are sound and wholesome: It has already given proofs of powerful and generous qualities, and the whole promises to settle down into something substantially excellent. But the causes which are operating to strengthen and ennoble it, and its daily indications of admirable properties, are all lost upon purblind observers, who are only affected by the little asperities incident to its present situation. They are capable of judging only of the surface of things; of those matters which come in contact with their private interests and personal gratifications. They miss some of the snug conveniences and petty comforts which belong to an old, highly-finished, and over-populous state of society; where the ranks of useful labour are crowded, and many earn a painful and servile subsistence, by studying the very caprices of appetite and self-indulgence. These minor comforts, however, are all-important in the estimation of narrow minds; which either do not perceive, or will not acknowledge, that they are more than counterbalanced among us by great and generally diffused blessings.

" All the writers of England united, if we could for a moment suppose their great minds stooping to so unworthy a combination, could not conceal our rapidly growing importance and matchless prosperity. They could not conceal that these are owing, not merely to physical and local, but also to moral causes:—to the political liberty,—the general diffusion of knowledge,—

the prevalence of sound, moral, and religious principles, which give force and sustained energy to the character of a people; and which, in fact, have been the acknowledged and wonderful supporters of their own national power and glory."

It is impossible to deny that prepossessions unfavourable to the Americans have been entertained too universally in this country ever since the period of the Revolution,—and it is not then to be wondered at, that the people of the United States, who have already, in the course of half a century, become one of the most powerful, enterprising, and rapidly increasing nations that has ever existed, should not at once be able to divest themselves of the feelings which our mean, shabby, treatment of them is calculated to produce,—but a great deal is to be said for both parties.

The Americans should not forget that the loss of the Colonies was a severe humiliation to the pride of Great Britain. And that, for some time at least, the British, who had for many years been taught to view them as rebels, must necessarily have considered the revolution as a rebellion.

> "That treason never prospers, what's the reason?
> Why, when it prospers, none dare call it treason."

Success alone justified the means by which the American, as well as the British, revolutions were effected. Truly, as Lord Byron writes,

> "Had Buonaparte won at Waterloo,
> It had been firmness, now 'tis pertinacity.
> Must the event decide between the two?"

While, however, it is easy to account for the popular prejudices which existed in Britain for some time after the revolution, no apology can be made for the long-continued and uniformly absurd and childish conduct, (excepting on a solitary occasion) of the court and the British government, towards such a nation as this.

After the peace of 1783, neither an ambassador nor envoy was sent by the British government to America. A year or two elapsed before the government of the United States resolved to waive the difficulty created by this slight on the part of the British government. And in the year 1785 they dispatched Mr John Adams, who had been again and again in Europe on various missions, and who certainly was one of the most respectable citizens of the United States, as minister-plenipotentiary, to represent the United States at the Court of Saint James's. The account which Mr Adams sent to the American secretary of state, of his first meeting with George the Third, is so very interesting, that, although it has already appeared in other publications, I think it right to insert it. What passed at this meeting was very creditable to both parties. The King's answer was extremely well judged; and it is only to be regretted that this was the only occasion upon which, for a very long period, any civility was shown to the government of the United States.

Mr Adams' account of the meeting is in these terms: —"During my interview with the Marquis of Carmarthen, he told me it was customary for every foreign minister, at his first presentation to the King, to make

his Majesty some compliments conformable to the s
of his credentials; and when Sir Clement Co
Dormer, the master of ceremonies, came to inforn
that he should accompany me to the secretary of s
and to the court, he said, that every foreign min
whom he had attended to the Queen, had always n
an harangue to her Majesty; and he underst
though he had not been present, that they alway
rangued the King. On Tuesday evening the B
de Lynden (Dutch Ambassador) called upon me;
he said he came from the Baron de Nolkin (Swe
Envoy,) and had been conversing upon the singula
tuation I was in; and they agreed in opinion, th
was indispensable that I should make a speech,
that it should be as complimentary as possible.
this was parallel to the advice lately given by the C
de Vergennes to Mr Jefferson. So that, finding it
a custom established at both these great courts,
this court and the foreign ministers expected i
thought I could not avoid it, although my first thou
and inclination had been, to deliver my credential
lently, and retire. At one, on Wednesday, the 1s
June, the master of ceremonies called at my house,
went with me to the secretary of state's office, in Cl
land Row, where the Marquis of Carmarthen recei
me, and introduced me to Mr Frazier, his under
cretary, who had been, as his lordship said, uninterr
edly in that office, through all the changes in ad
nistration, for thirty years, having first been appo
ed by the Earl of Holderness. After a short conv

sation upon the subject of importing my effects from Holland and France, free of duty, which Mr Frazier himself introduced, Lord Carmarthen invited me to go with him in his coach to court. When we arrived in the anti-chamber, the *œil-de-bœuf* of Saint James's, the master of the ceremonies met me, and attended me, while the secretary of state went to take the commands of the King. While I stood in this place, where it seems all ministers stand on such occasions, always attended by the master of ceremonies, the room very full of courtiers, as well as the next room, which is the King's bed-chamber, you may well suppose that I was the focus of all eyes.

"I was relieved, however, from the embarrassment of it by the Swedish and Dutch ministers, who came to me, and entertained me in a very agreeable conversation during the whole time. Some other gentlemen, whom I had seen before came to make their compliments too, until the Marquis of Carmarthen returned, and desired me to go with him to his Majesty. I went with his Lordship through the levee-room into the King's closet; the door was shut, and I was left with his Majesty and the secretary of state alone. I made the three reverences, one at the door, another about half-way, and the third before the presence, according to the usage established at this and all the northern courts of Europe, and then addressed myself to his Majesty in the following words:—

"'Sir, the United States have appointed me their minister plenipotentiary to your Majesty; and have di-

rected me to deliver to your Majesty this letter, which contains the evidence of it. It is in obedience to their express commands, that I have the honour to assure your Majesty of their unanimous disposition and desire to cultivate the most friendly and liberal intercourse between your Majesty's subjects and their citizens; and of their best wishes for your Majesty's health, and for that of your royal family.

" ' The appointment of a minister from the United States to your Majesty's court will form an epoch in the history of England and America. I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens, in having the distinguished honour to be the first to stand in your Majesty's royal presence, in a diplomatic character; and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men, if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your Majesty's royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence, and affection; or, in better words, ' the old good-nature, and the old good-humour,' between people who, though separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion, and kindred blood. I beg your Majesty's permission to add, that, although I have sometimes before been entrusted by my country, it was never, in my whole life, in a manner so agreeable to myself.'

" The King listened to every word I said, with dignity it is true, but with an apparent emotion. Whether it was the nature of the interview, or whether it was my visible agitation, for I felt more than I did or could

express, that touched him, I cannot say, but he was much affected, and answered me with more tremor than I had spoken with, and said:—

"'Sir, the circumstances of this audience are so very extraordinary, the language you have now held is so extremely proper, and the feelings you have discovered so justly adapted to the occasion, that I must say, that I not only receive with pleasure the assurances of the friendly disposition of the people of the United States, but that I am very glad the choice has fallen upon you to be their minister. I wish you, Sir, to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do, by the duty which I owed to my people. I will be frank with you. I was the last to conform to the separation; but the separation having been made, and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power. The moment I see such sentiments and language as yours prevail, and a disposition to give this country the preference, that moment, I shall say, let the circumstances of language, religion, and blood, have their natural and full effect.'

"I dare not say that these were the King's precise words; and it is even possible that I may have, in some particular, mistaken his meaning; for, although his pronunciation is as distinct as I ever heard, he hesitated sometimes between his periods, and between the members of the same period. He was, indeed, much af-

fected, and I was not less so; and, therefore, I cannot be certain that I was so attentive, heard so clearly, and understood so perfectly, as to be confident of all his words or sense; this I do say, that the foregoing is his Majesty's meaning, as I then understood it, and his own words, as nearly as I can recollect."

No further attention of any kind was shown to Mr Adams, and the government of Great Britain did not think fit to make any return of civility to the government of the United States, by sending an ambassador or an envoy to that country. Mr Jefferson, who was ambassador from the United States to the French court, paid a visit to Great Britain early in the year 1786, and went to the levee. He writes, that "on his presentation to the King and Queen, at their levees, it was impossible for any thing to be more ungracious, than their notice of Mr Adams and himself." At this time, Mr Pitt continued at the head of affairs, and Lord Carmarthen was still foreign minister.

Early in 1787, Mr Adams was, at his own request, recalled, on the express ground, that no diplomatic character should be kept at a court which kept none with them. At length, after an interval of more than four years, the British government, in the autumn of the year 1791, sent Mr Hammond, as minister plenipotentiary to the American government, who lost no time in dispatching Mr Pinckney, in the same capacity, to the court of Saint James's.

Nothing could be more courteous, considering what had previously passed, than the reception which Mr

Jefferson, then secretary of state, gave to Mr Hammond, as the following note, from Mr Jefferson to Mr Hammond, written immediately on the latter's arrival, will evince. "Mr Jefferson has the honour of presenting his compliments to Mr Hammond, and expresses his regret that he happened to be from home when he waited on him on Monday. Being informed by Mr Bard, that Mr Hammond is charged with a public mission to the government of the United States, relative to which some previous explanation might be proper, Mr Jefferson has the honour to assure Mr Hammond he shall be ready to receive any communications, and enter into explanations, either formally or informally, as Mr Hammond shall choose, at any time suitable to him. He recollects with pleasure his acquaintance with Mr Hammond at Paris, and shall be happy in any opportunity of rendering him such offices and attentions, as may be acceptable to him."

In many of Mr Jefferson's letters at subsequent periods, there are passages, showing the acuteness of the feelings entertained in the United States, on account of the national contempt of their country, which too often appeared on the part of the British government. Thus, in January 1811, he writes to Mr Law, brother of the late Lord Ellenborough, who has long been settled at Washington, in these terms:—"Your sincere attachment to this country, as well as to your own native one, was never doubted by me, and in that persuasion I felt myself free to express to you my genuine sentiments with respect to England. No man was more

sensible than myself of the just value of the friendshi
that country. There are between us so many of th
circumstances which naturally produce and cem
kind dispositions, that, if they could have forgiven
resistance to their usurpations, our connections mi
have been durable, and have insured duration to b
our governments. I wished, therefore, a cordial frie
ship with them. And I spared no occasion of ma
festing this in our correspondence and intercourse w
them, not disguising, however, my desire of friendsl
with their enemy also. During the administration of
Addington, I thought I discovered some friendly sym
toms on the part of that government, at least we r
ceived some marks of respect from the administratio
and some of regret at the wrongs we were sufferi
from their country. So, also, during the short inte
val of Mr Fox's power. But every other administr
tion since our revolution has been equally wanton in the
injuries and insults, and has manifested equal hatr
and aversion. With respect to myself, I saw gre
reason to believe their ministers were weak enough
credit the newspaper trash, about a supposed person
enmity in myself towards England. This wretche
party imputation was beneath the notice of wise me
England never did me a personal injury, other than i
open war; and for numerous individuals there, I hav
great esteem and friendship, and I must have had
mind far below the duties of my station, to have fe
either national partialities or antipathies, in conductin
the affairs confided to me. My affections were fir

for my own country, and then generally for all mankind. The feelings of their king, too, fundamentally averse to us, have added another motive for unfriendliness in his ministers."

On another occasion, Mr Jefferson writes so late as the year 1815. "What nourishment and support would not England receive from an hundred millions of industrious descendants, whom some of her people now born will live to see here? What their energies are she has lately tried. And what has she not to fear from an hundred millions of such men, if she continues her maniac course of hatred and hostility to them? I hope in God she will change. There is not a nation on the globe with whom I have more earnestly wished a friendly intercourse on equal conditions. On no others would I hold out the arm of friendship to any."

Before leaving the house of Mr Cucks, we had the pleasure of seeing him and his family set off in their own carriage, drawn by a couple of horses, for the church at Rhinebeck, although hardly a mile distant; and the coldness of the day would have led us very much to prefer a walk for such a distance, to a ride in an open carriage; but custom regulates everything, and no one walks in this country.

We proceeded on our journey soon after Mr Cucks took his departure, expecting to reach the city of Hudson in time for the afternoon assembling of the church. But the service had been some time commenced before we arrived. Hudson is a very considerable place, and its situation, on a promontory which projects boldly in-

to the Hudson, very beautiful. From the penins
the river on both sides, and its shores, and the villag
Athens on the opposite side, form a beautiful landsc
The banks of the Hudson river in general are pr
pitous, and of very thin soil; but on both sides, th
are broken vallies, and upon the intervals between the
the towns along the river are placed. Hudson is
example of this. A high hill, the north abutment
one of the ridges, rises immediately to the southw
of a swamp on the south side of the town.

It is a place of considerable trade; the populat
about 5000 or 6000. We lodged at Bryan's Ho
The general dinner was over before we arrived, l
we soon had everything we required set before us
two female waiters, who amused us by both of th
remaining in the room seated while we enjoyed our
past. For so small a party, we had never previou
seen more than one. This is an excellent hotel; l
there was more noise in the rooms near that which
occupied during a great part of the night than we h
ever experienced in this country. People, in gener
go early to bed and get up early in this country; a
there is perfect quietness during the night. Th
rooms were filled with lawyers on the circuit, who,
this as in all other countries, acquire confidence, fr
the nature, I presume, of the professional duties impo
upon them, become more assuming, attach greater i
portance to their opinions, and give themselves grea
airs, than any other description of professional perso
Next morning, we breakfasted at Kinderhook, wh

stands upon the alluvial banks of the creek or river of Kinderhook, about twelve miles above Hudson. This village, in point of beauty, almost rivals the villages of New England; the breadth of the road, the fineness of the trees, the clean newly painted houses, and the neat little gardens, in which they are enclosed, reminded us of Northampton, Worcester, Dedham, &c. The situation is in a rich district of country; the breakfast, too, was so good; and the landlady and her daughter, at Lewis's Hotel, so obliging, that we viewed every thing *en couleur de rose.* At dinner we were equally well off at Richardson's Hotel, fourteen miles farther on. There is one splendid point in this road opposite to Albany, from which the view of Albany itself, of the river, and of the beauties of the Hudson far beyond, is most magnificent.

In the evening, after passing through a great part of the Van Ransellaer estate, on the banks of the Hudson, opposite to Albany, we reached the hotel of Mr Platt Titus at Troy, a considerable city, and the greatest erected upon the alluvial banks of the Hudson,—in fact, it is not above eight or ten feet above the level of high water-mark about six miles above Albany. The population has increased from 3000 or 4000 in 1810, to 11,000 or 12,000 at the present time. The hotel here is well kept; and for the first time, since we left New York, we found bells in the house,—which are a positive annoyance to those for some time unaccustomed to their noise. There are also male waiters here. The Circuit Court is at present at Troy; and some of those

engaged in the business, judges, clerks, lawyers, &c. are in the house. Breakfast at half-past seven; dinner at one. I had no conversation with any of the lawyers at breakfast; but in the course of the forenoon I looked into the court. Three judges were upon the bench; and a proof was taking in presence of a jury respecting a mill-dam. As soon as I was observed in the interior of the court, though merely as a stranger, one of the clerks, or other officers of the court, beckoned to me, and then rose and insisted I should have a seat close to the table. He explained to me the particulars of the case, which were not sufficiently interesting to detain me long. The court-house here is old, and ill fitted up; but a new court-house is now in progress of being erected. According to the constitution of these courts, the presiding judge is a lawyer; and he is assisted by two persons in the neighbourhood, not selected on account of their knowledge in law, but because they are reckoned shrewd, sensible, upright men, by their fellow-citizens in their vicinity. This part of the judicial constitution of some of the American states has been much objected to by persons from England, who have visited this country; but as almost all questions are decided by a jury, and as these associated judges only interfere when they conceive the lawyer judge to be obviously wrong in the way he is preparing a cause, or charging a jury, I doubt whether they can do any harm. In Scotland, the chief magistrates of boroughs, many of them men of no education, have a very extensive jurisdiction within the district of the borough. This is ob-

viously wrong; but the remedy which has been provided in Edinburgh, and some of the large towns, is, that lawyers, one or more, shall assist the chief magistrate,—although the sentences are pronounced and signed by the chief magistrate, who in general acts without the interposition of a jury. If this anomaly in the legal practice of Scotland had been known to Captain Hall, he would not, probably, have considered the association of intelligent men with the lawyer judges in the United States, as so perfectly ridiculous and absurd as he has stated it to be. Be it observed, too, that in America the lawyer judge is assisted by his fellow-citizens; in Scotland, the citizen is assisted by the lawyers.

The court adjourned for an hour, *at one o'clock*, to give all concerned an opportunity to dine. The dinner at our hotel was a very good one, and agreeable in every respect, but its usual brevity. Some of the gentlemen of the long robe had wine, and insisted on my wife and me partaking with them, which certainly is not according to the every-day custom of the country.

Troy is a very regular town, well shaded with trees; and, in point of natural scenery, is not surpassed by any of the cities or villages on the Hudson. The sloop navigation up the river terminates at Troy. The schools and academies at Troy are very numerous. The female seminaries, at the head of which is Mrs Willard, who has written a popular history of the United States, is reckoned one of the best in this country. I was in the book-store of Mr Parker, which is nearly opposite the

hotel. He is the agent of Messrs Carvill, the chief booksellers of New York, for the sale of the Library of Useful Knowledge. He tells me that Messrs Carvill sold about 10,000 copies of it. Mr Parker is, I have no doubt, a zealous agent; for, after making inquiries of me respecting Mr Brougham, on discovering that I was British, he pronounced his Discourse for the Society for Diffusing Useful Knowledge to be the best paper he ever read, excepting always the Bible. Adjoining to Troy on one side, and very near the river, is a hill 400 feet high, called Mount Ida, from which there is a noble view of the city, of the river, and neighbouring country. From this hill a good deal of land, covered with pine and cedar, is to be seen. Such land was formerly considered in this country sterile; but this is now found to be a mistake. With tolerable management and manure, it yields abundant crops. This is abundantly proved in the neighbourhood of Kinderhook, where there is now a great tract of fertile land, which was lately covered with pine.

About half-way up the hill called Mount Ida, we found a fence, and did not choose to invade it without permission. We therefore called at a cottage close to it, and found it occupied by a Scotch family, who had lately come to this country, and seem very happy. The name of the husband is William Craig, from Lochwinnoch in Renfrewshire. His wife's name is Robertson. They arrived in the month of May 1828. Craig was, within a few days after his arrival, engaged by the proprietor of Mount Ida as superintendant of his farm, at

170 dollars a-year, besides a good house, the constant keeping of a cow, vegetables, and potatoes. The proprietor was so much pleased with his management, that, before the crop 1829 was put into the ground, he insisted on Craig's becoming tenant of it, Craig giving the proprietor the usual share of the produce, and the proprietor obliging himself, that if, according to this arrangement, Craig had not 170 dollars a-year, besides the other articles before-mentioned, he would make up the sum to that amount.

Property is very valuable at Troy. A tenement, sixty-five feet by twenty-five feet, was pointed out to me as having been lately sold for 4000 dollars. Lansingburgh is about three miles higher up than Troy on the river. We crossed the river here on a very large wooden bridge, and proceeded to see the Cohoes Falls on the Mohawk, which are in the neighbourhood. They are of considerable breadth, and the descent is about seventy feet. We also visited the point of junction of the Erie and Champlain canals. The number of boats constantly passing presents a picture of great activity and exertion. There are seven locks upon the canal within the space of three quarters of a mile.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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ERRATA, VOL. I.

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63, — 16, *for* to Menai *read* to-morrow
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100, — 24, *for* burnt *read* burst
136, — 14 *of contents, for* Quequebec *read* Quebec
181, — 23, *after* Mr *read* Henry
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215, — 10, *for* counsels *read* councils
243, — 16, *for* unanimously *read* anonymously
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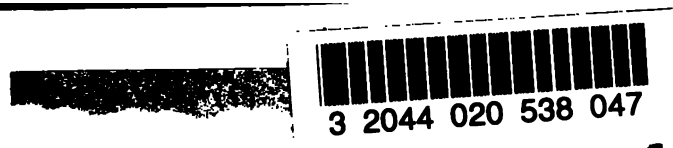
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